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CHAPTER 1

Introductory

121 The following account is based upon a five weeks field survey carried out during the summer of 1938. It was intended to follow this up with an intensive study of one locality over a period of twelve months. Political developments in Europe made this project impracticable at the time and the scheme has now been abandoned.

For the facilities afforded me in Iraq I am particularly indebted to Mr.C.J.Edmonds, Adviser to the Iraq Government, Captain Trypus Bell, Oriental Secretary at the British Embassy Baghdad, and His Excellency Ahmad Beg & Tawfiq Beg, Mutasarrif of Erbil, in whose province this research was carried out.

The justification for publishing the somewhat superficial data contained in this monograph lies in the absence of any strictly comparable material elsewhere. The general form of Kurdish social organization as here described is probably fairly typical of that of a large number of Mohammedan peoples scattered throughout the mountainous areas of western Asia. Concerning such peoples there is at present available very little ethnographic material of any kind and the postulate that the Kurdish form of society is typical is put forward as an hypothesis open to correction in the light of further study.

121 171 Of more immediate relevance is the close correlation that undoubtedly exists between Kurdish social forms and those of Arabia in general. This fact is of interest since linguistically the Kurds are of "aryan" rather than "semitic" stock. Concerning the "manners and customs" of various Bedouin and Semitic groups there is of course an enormous mass of literature available, some of it of the highest scientific quality, but the emphasis in every case has been to make an historical record of ethnographic fact rather than to study any particular group as a society in functioning existence at the present time. The work of Jaussen, Musil, Lane, Drower and Murray to name but a few, though admirably detailed, is by modern standards somewhat lifeless, since it describes the pattern of various cultural norms without, as a rule, showing their social significance or demonstrating the fundamental interrelationship between them. The earlier studies of Robertson-Smith, Frazer and Westermarck were entirely synthetic in character and gave no true picture of the functioning of any single

114 113

* A. Jaussen - Les Coutumes des Arabs au Pays de Moab
M. Musil - Manners and Customs of the Rwala Bedouins
E.W.Lane - Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians
E.S.Drower - The Mandaeans of Iraq and Iran
G.W.Murray - Sons of Ishmael

114 society. Nevertheless these works continue to be of fundamental
113 importance as contributions to anthropological theory. There have been important studies of particular aspects of semitic culture, notably that of Mrs. Seligman on Kinship and Granqvist on Marriage, the latter being at the present time unique in its wealth of documentary detail concerning the actual position of women in a Palestinian society, but we still lack a coordinated study for any single area. Owing to the lack of adequate empirical data the present monograph does not effectively fill that gap, but it does provide for the first time an indication of the structural organisation of a settled group whose kinship affiliations are of the typical semitic pattern. The details of my account will in time hope to fitted in and elaborated by further research.

The existing documentary material concerning Kurdistan and the Kurds is somewhat meagre in quality. Most of it consists of highly romanticised travel stories of which the title of Millingen's Wild Life among the Kurds (1870) gives a fair indication of the contents. The romantic tradition is incidentally still maintained, as evidence G.J.Smaller's Blackmail in Kurdistan published only in 1955

For the Southern Kurdish area in general little serious ethnographic material is available, though Hellmut Ritter's Kurden und Armenier dealing with the Turkish area to the north has some relevance. V.F.Minorsky's Kurdes: Notes and Observations published in Russian in 1915 refers, I believe, in part to the area under discussion but this has not been accessible to me.

Concerning the Rowanduz area itself there are only two books generally accessible. A.H.Hamilton's Road through Kurdistan which is a light hearted though highly interesting account of the construction of the strategic motor road up to Rowanduz and on to the frontier, and H.H.Say's Two Years in Kurdistan. The latter deals precisely with the same area and the same individuals as are the subject of this monograph I shall refer to it frequently both in criticism and as providing supporting evidence. Further local colour may be obtained from W.A.Pilgrim's Cradle of Mankind, which deals with a neighbouring area slightly to the North East; the author's religious prejudices in favour of the Assyrian (Christian) community however give a special bias to many of his judgements.

121 Of my own study I expect that further research will doubtless correct my analysis on many points of detail. Nevertheless I believe the general correlation of the elements of social organisation to be

* H.S.Seligman - Studies in Semitic Kinship (Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies Vol.III)
H.N.Granqvist - Marriage Conditions in a Palestine Village

with, and I would like the readers attention to the seemingly very close interdependence of kinship, political and economic factors in the groups studied.

Preliminary note on Kurdish names

The ordinary Kurd has a single name given to him at birth of which the following are typical - Ahmad, Ali, Mustafa, Said (Mohammed), Amin, Sharif. If it is necessary to be more specific he will give the name of his village also; thus we find that agricultural noticeboard Kurds often use the name of their village as a surname - eg Sulaymaniyah village himself Sharif Mahmud - Mahmud being the village of origin. Among the settled Arab tribes in Mesopotamia.

The title Agha will be discussed in detail later - it is usually translated "chief" and is applied by the inhabitants of villages and their immediate neighbours. As a title it follows the name: thus Ali Agha, Ahmad Amin Agha. To be more specific the name of the village is added:- thus Ahmad Amin Agha i Sangasar.

Analogous to this is the title Beg. Etymologically speaking it is a Turkish title but is used by some Kurds. Thus the Ahmadi people of Sangasar call themselves Begzadeh, by virtue of the fact that their leaders claim descent from the former princes of Sangasar, who established an independent principality in the 17th/18th Century. The use of Beg among the Ahmadi seems to be identical to Agha elsewhere, so to avoid confusion I refer to the chief of Sangasar, Bir Ahmad Amin, as Agha and not Bimm or Beg as he is usually called.

Mir (prince) is similarly a hereditary title which is carried by certain families. The Mirs of Rowanduz belong to the Baban Agha and the title appears several times in the ancestry of the chiefs of Pishdar.

The title Shaikh does not, as in Arabia, imply tribal leadership. Normally it is reserved for religious leaders - e.g. Shaikh Ahmadi of Barzan, a leader of the Naqshbandi sect of dervishes. The name is however sometimes carried on as ordinary name. Thus Shaikh Mohammed Agha of Pishdar is not himself a religious leader. He was given the personal name Shaikh Mohammed at birth after a relative who had been a real shaikh.

The Mulla is the village priest, his precise functions are discussed later. As a title it comes before the name: thus Mulla Mahmud.

Hajji is the Mohammedan title for those who have visited Mecca. As the Mecca welcome this, the bearer of such a title likes to be

*See C.J. Edmonds - A Bibliography of Southern Kurdish (Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society, Vol.XXIV, 1937).

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534 addressed by Sh. All Agha of Bapir's Bait Wahs to Bajik All Agha and he to sometimes addressed simply as Bajik. The regions of Bait Wahs of Rowandiz had also made the pilgrimage and I never heard him called anything but Bajik.

The title Bapiri implies a descendant of the Prophet and carries with it the right to wear a green turban. The Bapiri is probably in most cases spiritually among the Bapirin when I met him every appearance of being pure bred Kurd. In the Bajik area the only persons claiming this honour are the two families of Shaikan and Shaikh Ahmadan and the whole Shaikhiah.

534 The turkish term Effendi is frequently applied to town notables
609 who have no tribal linkage and this cannot be called Aghaan- thus Barzanjie Effendi, the leading notable of Rowandiz. Similarly it is a title applied to scholars - my interpreter was known sometimes as Sherin Effendi.

Bakia (usually "Zaptieh") is applied only to foreigners. I enquired this title myself after resolutely refusing to be either a "Lord" or a "Major".

The Field of Investigation

102. The field of investigation is shown on the two maps at the end of this volume. It has been found impossible in a single colour line drawing to show the various features of the country as all adequately and attributes are merely indicated by figures. The area is covered by sections I 30 and J 30 of the International Map of the World (Scale 1: 1,000,000) while the Rowandiz area appears on section L. 3 on the 4 miles to 1 inch War Office map of Iraq, Persia and Turkey in Asia.

102. Map 1 which shows the route of the Bait Line of Iraq-
Petroleum is divided into three areas A, B and C having both geographic
134 and ethnographic significance.

[487] A. Rowandiz. This area, the main field of study, is shown in enlarged scale on Map 2. Prior to the construction of the motor road some two years ago, this area was extremely inaccessible. Previously the only way of reaching the region was by way of a bridle infested mule track that led along the edge of the precipitous "Rowandiz Gorge. The area is extremely mountainous. Rowandiz itself is over 1,000 feet above sea level and the peaks on the Persian border reach above 10,000 feet. Frost and cold natural it presents a tremendous contrast to the arid plains of Mesopotamia. Comparatively little land is available for cultivation, and the steep inclines preclude the adoption of modern methods of cultivation.

* For photographs see Map pp. 486, 488.

of uniform terrain of agriculture. The villages are all to some from 102
Sag I are situated mostly in the valleys. Most of Dergala village 131
practically the whole area is more broad throughout the winter. Before
the war, though the area was nominally under British domination, the 631
local Kurdish leaders maintained practical independence. After the
war the area came within the area of the Iraq mandate. The policy
adopted by the British administration and the immediate political
consequences are described by Sag. Probably connected it may be said
that after some initial mistakes in which the government unfortunately
"backed the wrong men" the administration eventually achieved a
relative tranquility by paying all the important leaders a substantial
salary provided they behaved themselves. The economic consequences of
this will be referred to later. Following the abandonment of the
mandate, or perhaps earlier, it was decided by the English authorities
to adopt a more positive policy of "pacification". A strategic road 487
was built through the mountains from Erbil to Rowanduz and continued on 212
to the Persian borders a large military barracks was established at
Rowanduz with subsidiary police posts at Sapak and Sidakan. The
economic and political consequences of the building of this road have
been very great and will be discussed in greater detail later.

To sum up then, the distinguishing characteristics of area A 1/2 73
are the poverty of the soil resources, the severity of the winters
extreme difficulty, until very recently, of any intercommunication
between the various villages and the fact that such "tribal dis-
integration" as is now found in all of fairly recent origin dating for
the most part from the construction of the road and the establishment
of permanent police authority in the Sapak valley.

B. Peribil Area. This area corresponding approximately to 133
the administrative district of Shaqlawa is separated from area A by an 177
almost impassable range of mountains. On the South side on the other
hand it merges quite gradually into the plains area C. Geographical 182
considerations therefore are mainly responsible for the fact that the
inhabitants of area B, though presumably of identical cultural origins
to those of area A, have for many years been in much closer contact
with the Arab world and various "sophisticated" influences generally.
At the present time the tribes of this area no longer function as
political entities, and the whole region is in a very real sense
"directly administered" by the police. Hajji account [1933] seems to
appear that conditions were very similar even in his time though the
process of disintegration has doubtless been intensified in the
interval. The potential economic resources of the district are
probably much greater than for area A both on account of the milder
climate and the greater area of cultivable land.

* An account of the construction of this road is given by
A.M.Smallian - Road through Rowanduz.

? [Boundaries - Areal?]

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548 The migrations and shiftings of the Assyrian (Christian) population consequent upon the various massacres and persecutions that have taken place since the War have had important repercussions on the economics of the area. The Assyrian groups were formerly widely distributed among the Kurdish villages, mostly in a region North West from Arbil. Despite special pleading by Nigrom and others it would appear that, apart from the religious differentiation, there was formerly little ethnic or cultural difference between Assyrian and Kurd. Under present conditions the differentiation is much more marked. Persecution and the patronage of over-sympathetic European Christians has had the double effect that those Assyrians who are now left in the region are on the one hand congregated into tightly isolated colonies, and on the other are rapidly adopting a high degree of western sophistication with its accompanying technical advantages. One such Assyrian colony exists at Baton, and appears to be achieving considerable prosperity through the scientific development of tobacco cultivation. This appears to likely to have consequences for neighbouring Kurdish groups.

101 The distinction area B therefore by the wildness of its climate its comparative fertility; and the looseness of the tribal organisation as one existing.

[102] C. Plains area. Geographically this area differs completely from the other two. Largely flat, completely treeless, with a minimal rainfall, and snowbound almost day for four or five months of every year, it would seem to be no place for the hillmen. But the soil is one of the richest in the world. It forms part of the great "fertile crescent" so beloved of archaeological historians, and has yielded a vast annual crop of wheat and barley for literally thousands of years. 111 Historically the area formed part of the great Assyrian and Hittite empires and the number of archaeological remains is sufficient evidence of its economic and political importance in ancient times. Today the 112 population consists of two distinct cultural groups; nomadic and semi-113 settled Arabs intrusive from the South and permanently settled Kurds 114 with distinct Turkish and Assyrian groups in the towns. According to 174 Hay (p. 77) the penetration of the Kurds sentiments into the Arbil plain is a comparatively recent historical event. He holds that the area was formerly occupied by nomadic Arab groups who have been ousted by the recent expansion of the Kirai tribe. The evidence for this 108 does seem to be doubtful. In any case, whatever the historical facts, 109 the technique and economic arrangements of the plains Kurds are differ so markedly from the hill groups that in most respects they must be treated as a separate culture group. Politically also they differ from the hill Kurds in that the present village chiefs (Aghas) are mostly of quite different lineage to their followers, so that the organisation tends to be feudal rather than tribal. I had supposed at first that this was a very recent development but similar conditions are described by Hay writing in 1925.

1 [illegible]

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Rowanduz

The Nomads. In addition to the permanent settled inhabitants of the three areas here discussed there are certain nomadic groups who move seasonally from one area to another and even out of the district altogether. These nomads are again in many respects a distinct cultural group; their economy is based exclusively on pastoralism as opposed to the pastoral-agriculturalism of the settled peoples. The largest of the nomad tribes are the Herki. They are normally resident in Persia near the southernmost end of Lake Urmia. These high altitudes cannot provide sufficient fodder for their herds throughout the year and during the late autumn the bulk of the tribe migrates down the Rowanduz river and spreads out through the foothills (Area B) and the northern fringe of the plains. They return to Persia with the melting of the snows in the late spring. I have no first hand evidence concerning these people and the second hand evidence appears to be both fabulous and contradictory. There is reason to think that their tribal organization at the present time functions more perfectly than that of the settled groups, presumably owing to less government interference. They possess definite grazing rights in certain areas, even in districts nominally under the control of settled groups' though in other areas they pay some sort of rental for the right to herd their flocks. Their migration is linked with important trade activities. They bring salt with them from Persia to Iraq, and take back wheat and barley. Meat is disposed of on the Erbil market as well as large numbers of their livestock. The duty-free import of salt is of course strictly illegal but is winked at by the authorities. It was reported in the summer of 1938 that the Persian authorities intended to compel the Herki to adopt a settled habitat. It is thus unlikely that it will ever be possible to determine the precise position of this group in the political and economic organization of the Kurdish area as a whole.

In my field work I stayed nearly all the time in villages occupied by members of the Surav and Baliz tribes (see Map 2).

"The Iraq government authorities are able to carry on all negotiations with the Herki through the agency of a single paramount Agha, this despite the fact that the tribe itself scatters into small family groups throughout a very wide area; this seems to imply a high degree of tribal integration. During the summer of 1938 a law case was proceeding between the Agha paramount of the Herki and Jamil Agha of Baliyan (Baziki tribe) as to whether the former need pay any rent to the latter for the grazing rights of what appeared to be Baziki land. Jamil Agha complained to me bitterly that the Herki seemed likely to win their case owing to their greater wealth and resources for corruption. The case however established the point that they might claim traditional grazing rights in land seemingly within the sphere of influence of permanently settled groups.

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107 Accordingly the description which follows applies primarily to Area A of the foregoing description. Prior to the opening of the road it might indeed have been possible to treat this district as a single culture area, virtually self contained. Under present conditions however economic factors and the external political authority link the three regions, A, B and C, closely together. I will attempt to make clear as I proceed the degree to which generalisations derived primarily from a study of the Balik and Dergala tribes can be regarded as generally applicable to the whole region. I will conclude this section with a rather more detailed description of the groups inhabiting Area A. Map 2.

101 622 The Soran group whose full tribal name is Soranî Bagzanda (i.e. "descendants of the Bags of Soran") are few in number. The group is a single unit (taifa), the paramount of which is the Agha of Dergala - Mir Hamid Amin Beg.

The Balik tribe is a very much larger group and is subdivided into three clans, usually named Hallasherifi, Shevtini and Bakri, of which Hallasherifi is much the largest. The Shevtini group centred around Bayat has a considerable degree of cohesion and accepts the Agha of Bayat - Ali Agha - as paramount. The Hallasherifi on the other hand though nominally owing allegiance to the Agha of Balesh - Sheikh Mohammed Agha - appear in practice to be split into three groups centred on Balesh, Bast and Gelala. The Bakri are a small group about which I know nothing. Sheikh Mohammed Agha by virtue of his position as head of the largest clan is considered by the government to be Agha paramount of all the Balik; at the present time however his authority is minimal outside the immediate sphere of influence of his own village of Balesh.

794 162 439 The two villages of Khalan and Shikn i Sheikh require special mention. (See Map pp. 235 and 237 where Khalan is called Dar ul Aman). The heads of these two villages,*Sheikh Alauddin and Sheikh Chaichillah, are leaders of the mystic sect known as Nakshabendi, which has its basis in Bokhara. The villages are really hospices belonging to this order. Apart from the adherents of the religious community the population is very mixed, traders predominating. The marked prosperity of the community is not hard to understand. At least two large armed convoys of smugglers passed over the border even during the course of my three day visit. They even offered to take me with them, but discretion unfortunately prevented my acceptance.

609 * These two individuals described as 'cousins' by Hay are really nephew and uncle respectively although nearly the same age. It is the nephew, Alauddin, who has the greater reputation and influence.

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Apart from these two non-tribal villages, all the groups in the Balik and Dargala areas are at least 99% pure Kurdish. The intrusive element is provided by a few Jews and Assyrian Christians who as a rule carry on some special trade such as weaving or carpentry and are thus tolerated as useful members of the community. 563 463

Method of Analysis.

As is clear from what has already been said, the tribal organisation of the various groups throughout the area under review have all to a greater or less degree been affected by contact with, and interference by the external administrative authority. If we go so far as to assume that at one time there was a form of social organisation which could be regarded as the typical norm for all the hill tribes of this region, it is certain that such a norm can nowhere now be found functioning in its complete state. Kurdish society as it exists today is a society undergoing extremely rapid and at times violent social change. As we shall see there are powerful and perhaps irresistable forces at work tending not so much to the modification as to the total destruction and disintegration of existing forms of tribal organisation. In such circumstances, in order to make the description intelligible at all, some degree of idealisation seems essential. In the main therefore I shall seek to describe Kurdish society as if it were a functioning whole and then show up existing circumstances as variations from this idealised norm. I am aware that such a method makes the resulting description to some extent subjective and that on many points I have not the empirical data to check the validity of my hypothetical norm. In the circumstances however it appears to be the most reasonable procedure to adopt. 177 121

The External Administration

The precise form of the external administration has no very direct bearing on the Kurdish social system as described in this monograph. But at various points in the argument especially in the section dealing with economic problems reference will have to be made to elements in the administrative organisation, and it seems desirable therefore to give first a brief description of the functions and relationships of the various members of this external organisation. 177 635

The administrative system of Iraq has been developed out of that of the old Ottoman Empire. The terminology remains in many respects unaltered. The whole of the Kurdish area here under

635 discussion lies within the Province (liwa) of Erbil. *The civil head of the liwa is Mutasarrif who is directly responsible for the police administration and the magistracy and indirectly for such social services as Health, Education, Agricultural Reform etc. The tax organisation is closely associated with the police and also comes under the administration of the Mutasarrif. Outside his control however are the military and the judiciary.

635 871 664 Within the field of our discussion the social services of the government are very limited, though the education system is worthy of note. There are primary and secondary schools at Erbil and a primary school at Rowanduz. There was for a while a secondary school also at Rowanduz but this was closed following a nationalist strike by the students who demanded to be taught in the Kurdish language instead of Arabic. For obvious economic reasons these schools effect only a very small stratum of society - the sons of important Aghas and town merchants. Some of the larger villages have in addition a paid government teacher. Though the intention is good, the practice is less so. The wages offered and the facilities for advancement are so poor that only the very poorest type of indolent scholar offers himself for such posts. In the Balik area anyway the experience of government education has so far proved unfortunate. The current opinion seemed to be that all government education officers are moral perverts. Two examples serve to show the basis for such an attitude. The only schoolmaster among the Balik at the time of my visit was attached to the village of Bayat. Formerly he had been attached to the village of Rust where he had married one of the Agha's daughters; this lady he had now divorced or rather deserted and the Agha of Rust was suing him in the courts for maintenance. In Bayat he had seduced the daughter of the Mulla and to avoid scandal had now married her, but this in itself was a scandalous proceeding since the Mulla and the schoolmaster are regarded as enemies by nature - (since from the traditional viewpoint education is the Mulla's chief function). In another case which is described more fully later the Agricultural Adviser of Rekash was murdered.

871 875 609

609

635 * At the time of my visit the post of Mutasarrif of Erbil was held by Ahmad Beg i Tawfiq Beg, a Kurd from the relatively sophisticated district of Sulaimani, a man of great intelligence and personal integrity. I am directly indebted to him for the facilities and assistance which enabled me to carry out this piece of field work, the more especially since his own political position at the time was somewhat delicate. Being related by marriage to the chiefs of the Pizdah tribes, at that time in revolt, he was regarded with a certain amount of suspicion by some of the Arab elements in the Baghdad government. This fact, coupled with a mild reputation for being pro-British - by no means a desirable sentiment in modern Iraq, - made my request for travel facilities a decided inconvenience. In the circumstances his help was deeply appreciated.

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probably at the instigation of the Agha, because he was held to have corrupted the morals of the youth. 609

Health services need not concern us. In the area studied there is no resident doctor outside the city of Erbil. 758

The Government have made various experiments in agricultural reform chiefly with a view to improving the breed of livestock and the quality of valuable crops such as tobacco. The Government's interest in the improvement of the tobacco crop is especially relevant to the area here described. Details will be discussed later but it may be pointed out that Government assistance of this kind is not a philanthropic enterprise. The heavy excise duty levied on all saleable tobacco much more than repays any expenses incurred. 635 249

The independent judiciary functions through its court in Erbil. In practice however it is in the nature of appeal court, since in the first instance cases come before the Mudir (sub-district magistrate) and then before the Qa'im Maqam (district magistrate) before being referred to the court. I am not clear as to the rules governing "appeal" of this sort, nor as to the limits of sentence that can be imposed by the magistrates' courts. So far as I know, only serious cases such as homicide automatically go before the court at Erbil. 635 692

During time of peace the military are stationed only at Erbil and Rowanduz. There appears to be a general attitude of suspicion and conflict as between the civil and the military authorities. In this area the civil service is staffed mainly by Kurds and Turks and is thus in general inclination Kurdo-phil. The army on the other hand is staffed mainly by Iraqi-Arabs whose hatred and fear of the "barbarous Kurd" can be taken for granted. 635 701 578

The Liwa is divided into several districts (Kheam) each presided over by a district magistrate (Qa'im Maqam). Area A, Map 1 with which this account is mainly concerned lies wholly within the Kheam of Rowanduz. The Qa'im Maqam is responsible for his district in much the same way as the Mutasarrif is responsible for his Liwa. 635

The Kheam in turn is subdivided into several sub-districts (nahiya) over which presides a Mudir. The Balik tribe all reside within the nahiya Balik - the administrative district in this case coinciding with the tribal one. Dergala on the other hand is administered from Rowanduz.

The Mudir has in his direct control a number of policemen who provide the direct liaison between the external authority and the tribe. It is the venality of these junior officials which is the worst feature of the system, and which is the real source of

000 Government unpopularity among the tribes. Ray describes the gendarmerie of his time as "hardened ruffians without training and without principles; they used their authority to commit innumerable extortions". It does not appear that the position is much changed today.

"Below the Mudir there should be in each village a Mukhtar, his functions being basically those of registrar and tax collector. Among the hill Kurds the Mukhtar is invariably the Agha of the village concerned and the term is little used.

This summarises briefly the normal functions of the various elements of Government within the area under discussion. A more dynamic view of the interaction between Government and tribe will emerge in the course of what follows.

702 * Iraq has had conscription since Turkish times and nominally all Kurds are liable for military service. It is part of the duties of the Mukhtar to record births and report to the Mudir the names of those liable for service. Until very recently however no real records have been kept, so to avoid military service it was merely necessary to produce suitable presents for the right people at the right moment. Contrarywise military service provides the Agha with a convenient means of getting rid of undesirable characters. That at least summarises the position as outlined to me by my interpreter. But I obtained no figures as to the actual numbers conscripted.

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CHAPTER 2

Political Structure **Definition of Units**

The Kurdish term which in the foregoing pages I have crudely described as tribe is Ashiret. "The name of the Ashiret describes at once the people and the land they occupy. Thus it is sensible to speak of 'Balik country' as a district on the map while the individual tribesman will describe himself as 'a Balik'. 619

An ashiret may consist of one or more patrilineal clans called taifa, the fundamental difference between the two being that whereas ashiret is essentially descriptive of a political group, taifa is descriptive of a kinship group. Thus in Balik there are three taifa usually known as Mullasherifi, Shevdini (or Shmisuri) and Sukri; in "Soran" on the other hand there is just the one taifa of Sorani Begzwada. The dual title of the Shevdini depends upon the context of reference. Shevdin is the name of the ancestor from whom all members of the Shevdini taifa nominally trace their descent, he was the 'founder' of the taifa; Shmisur on the other hand is the name of the district he came from. The Mullasherifi similarly all claim descent from a certain Mulla Sherif said to have been a member of the Galali tribe of Sulaimani district. In general the tendency seems to be to take the group name from the ancestor rather than the place. Ali Agha of Bayat in giving me his genealogy claimed that Shevdin had lived eight generations ago and that in those days his family had belonged to the Surchi tribe west of the Great Zab, and that they migrated to the east in search of better land.† It was interesting to note that Ali Agha was reluctant to admit that his taifa formed part of the Balik ashiret. With the loosening of the political ties that linked the three clans of the tribe he hoped soon to establish that the Shevdini were an ashiret in their own right. 614 619

* The same is not strictly true of the Soranî centred on Dergala. During the latter part of the 18th Century the name Soran was applied to a territory approximately corresponding to areas A and B of Map 1 over which the princes of Rowanduz had established a titular suzerainty. Hamid Amin Beg the Agha of Dergala claims direct descent from these former princes and he and his immediate kin call themselves the Soranî Begzwada - "the descendants of the Begs of Soran". The term Soran has no direct territorial significance today, but on Map 2 the area so marked is that controlled by Hamid Amin Beg of Dergala.

† For comparison one may note that Sheikh Mohammad Agha of Balash, Agha paramount of the Balik and of the Mullasherifi taifa was also able to trace back his descent for eight generations but did not reach the name of Mulla Sherif in the process.

8: Leach E-5 (1938) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
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614 The taifa in turn is frequently divided into subsections called tira (branch), though in many contexts the two terms appear to be interchangeable. The Mullaaberifi taifa referred to before are for instance subdivided into three tira each group claiming descent from one of the sons of Mulla Sherif. These sons (I did not obtain their names) are supposed to have settled respectively in Nerga, Gelala and Rust, and these villages remain the centres of their respective tira to the present day. Thus the Agha of Rust is overlord of a number of villages by virtue of the fact that he is head of his tira. The Shevdini taifa is similarly subdivided into three tira, the names being given to me as Hadr Agha, Kaka Hasani and Hamadi Babakhr Agha - these being presumably the names of the ancestral founders of the lineage. On the other hand some persons at least did not seem to be clearly aware of this subdivision and on being asked the name of their tira would reply "Shevdin". Moreover I was assured by one informant that there is no difference between taifa and tira, but that the one is bigger than the other. This is I think an accurate description. Tira is a type of kinship group fairly frequently encountered by anthropologists. Usually termed lineage, but more aptly described by Firth as ramage, it differs only from the clan group in scale and political cohesion. With the loosening of political ties the distinction between the two types of grouping tends to disappear. The Agha of Rust for instance claimed to me that he was head of his own taifa and as such of equal rank to Sheikh Mohammad Agha of Walash. Sheikh Mohammad of course did not admit this claim but maintained that Mir Sadik, Agha of Rust was his subject.

From this description and the examples quoted it is clear that the terms ashiret, taifa and tira fall into the normal anthropological classifications of tribe, clan and lineage (ramage), with the single abnormality that the clans are in this case endogamous, or largely so.

Inheritance of Land Tenure

36/ The settlements for the most part consist of small villages (gund) scattered along the valleys. The term gund really includes both the houses and the cultivation surrounding them and may at times prove confusing. The gund of Nanpardan for instance contains two houses only, that of Dergala has over a hundred. Every gund is the 621 'property' of a landlord (Agha). If the Agha owns only one gund as in 423 the case of Hamid Amin Agha of Nanpardan he will live in it himself; if

*See C.Daryll Forde - Fission and Accretion in the Patrilineal Clans of a semi-Bantu community in Southern Nigeria J.R.A.I. Vol. 68: 314.
R.Firth - We, the Tikopia:370,371.

582. Note however that owing to the rule of ortho-cousin marriage, Kurdish taifa and tira tend to be endogamous rather than exogamous.

8: Leach E-5 (1938) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
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he owns several as in the case of Sheikh Mohammad Agha of Walash or Hamid Amin Beg of Dergala, he will live in one himself and appoint headmen (kokha) as his agents in the other villages. In theory the Agha is the absolute owner of all the land in the gund,*the villagers occupy and cultivate the land in the capacity of tenants and in return pay him, in theory at any rate, the seemingly staggering rental of 50% of the yield of the land. Again in theory the Agha has absolute discretion to evict any tenant he disapproves of, and similarly the tenant is free to leave whenever he chooses; the only property that the tenant possesses in his own right are ordinary household belongings, the roof beams of his house, and his personal livestock. Practise probably differs markedly from theory. So far as I could judge in the Balik country at any rate at least 90% of the population of any gund were not only Balik tribesmen but also members of the Agha's own taifa, many of them being his near kinsmen. It would seem then that the Agha's right of eviction remains theoretical except under extreme provocation. In practise the right of tenancy is heriditable. This latter point was confirmed to me by Sheikh Mohammad Agha of Walash; the way he put it was that when a tenant died he, the Agha, could do whatever he liked with the land, but that "as a rule" he gave it to the deceased's son or brother whichever was the most suitable. It may be noted that such a procedure would tend to prevent the land being split up into a vast number of small holdings by the process of inheritance, and would also provide an economic bond between the members of the smaller extended family groups.

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The tribal custom here is not, as might at first sight appear, at variance with Mohammedan law. According to the Koranic rule a man's testimentary rights are limited and most of his "property" (milk) is passed on in defined proportions to certain specific relatives. Land however is for the most part excluded in the term milk. The actual legal position as it applies to land tenure in Iraq is somewhat involved and the interested reader should refer direct to Sir H. Dowson's "An Enquiry into Land Tenure and Related Questions" (Iraq Government 1932). The following account summarises the position.

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The legal situation regarding the inheritance of land tenure is defined by the Ottoman Land Code of 1858, and certain subsidiary enactments of the old Turkish Empire. This recognises five classes of

*I have no data to show what rental is really paid. I was assured on several different occasions and in different contexts at Ranyurdan, Walash and Dergala that the normal arrangement is for the Agha to receive half the gross yield of the land if the tenant provides his own cattle, implements, seed, etc., but two thirds of the gross yield if the Agha provides the seed, implements, etc. According to Hay (p. 68) the figure is only 10% of the yield. But as I shall show presently a 50% rental is probably not as excessive as it sounds.

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.423 .428 land tenure Malk, Miri, Waqf, Matruka and Mewat. These categories however do not apply accurately to present day Iraq conditions, the term miri in particular being in practice used in a different sense to that implied by the Land Code. The effective categories appear to be three in number

1) Malk (property) - undiluted ownership; owners rights and inheritance being dictated by the Koranic sacred law.

2) Tapu - state land, the legal possession of which is granted out on the registered tenure laid down in Book 1 of the Land Code. Inheritance of this land is entailed to the direct descendants of the original holders, though actual ownership continues to be vested in the state.

3) Miri - state land, retained in full legal ownership and possession of the state which may be exploited directly or indirectly at its discretion subject to due recognition of established occupancy rights. In effect miri land simply represents the overwhelming residue of the country not held in malk or tapu tenure.

So far as the area of this study is concerned very little if any agricultural land is held in malk tenure and this category applies, I think, only to town property. Most of area C is held in tapu tenure and some portions of area B also. Area A is exclusively miri land so that in legal theory the tribes are here tenants of the state.

Such subtle distinctions are not clearly understood by the Kurdish tribesmen, and as Dowson's study shows the position is in fact confused and provides many opportunities for corruption. In the Balik area there seemed to be a movement on foot to get the tribal land made tapu in the name of the clan leaders. Ali Agha of Bayat for instance was anxious to have the Shevdini territory "registered" in his name and seemed to think that it was merely a question of bribing the right people. Such a development would be strongly resisted by Sheikh Mohammad Agha of Balash since it would infringe his nominal overlordship over the whole Balik territory.

So far as the question of inheritance is concerned the position is legally clear. None of the Kurdish land is malk and accordingly none of it is subject to the Koranic stipulations. The attitude of the Aghas however is not very clear. Sheikh Mohammad Agha for example was very insistent that all the land of the Balik was his personal property, which was somewhat inconsistent since he certainly did not seem to imply that the territory would be divided up among his relatives when he died. It is quite definite in fact that where land is concerned the various claims to "ownership" are not correlated with any principle of koranic inheritance.

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The Clan Agha

The gund Aghas' relations to their tenants has now been defined; they in turn owe allegiance to the Agha of the taifa. This individual also may glibly claim to own all the land of all the gunds under his suzerainty, but his ownership is of a much more nominal variety than that of the gund Agha. The taifa Agha does not levy any specific charge upon his underlings but rather receives from them gifts in proportion to his usefulness. Thus Hamid Amin Agha of Banpuridan, even though he belonged to the same tira as Sheikh Mohammad Agha of Walash head of the Mullasherifi and nominal paramount of all the Balik, did not admit that the latter was in any general sense his superior; though Sheikh Mohammad for his part claimed that Hamid Amin was his vassal. This discrepancy I think is only partly due to the recent loosening of political ties. In general it would appear that prior to the coming of the external administration the function of the taifa Agha was roughly that of arbitrator and court of appeal rather than dominating overlord. He seems to have been called in to arbitrate in small scale feuds, settle disputes between neighbouring villages over grazing rights and water, settle divorce disputes and so forth. For these services he would be suitably recompensed by the parties to the dispute.

This system of justice was doubtless exceedingly corrupt by European standards, but probably worked tolerably well. It is not clear what sanctions could be employed to enforce judiciary decisions of this sort. Today the claimsmen is encouraged to short-circuit the traditional machinery of the Aghas' courts and appeal for justice direct to the police. To some extent the two systems continue to operate side by side but with the continual lessening of the Aghas' authority litigation tends more and more to be a matter for the external administration only. I tried to obtain some opinions as to the relative efficiency of the old system and the new. The results were interesting. It was admitted that the decisions of the Agha in the old days were somewhat arbitrary, being based on considerations of wealth and nepotism rather than moral right, but at least a decision was arrived at quickly. The modern procedure on the other hand though plainly well intentioned is considered in practice to be slow, complicated and costly, and since the wealthier litigant can nearly always manage to appeal to a higher court if the first decision goes against him, the "justice" is nearly as one sided as before. Moreover it was argued that the police were just as corrupt as the Aghas with the disadvantage that, whereas formerly the Aghas were to some extent limited in their decisions by kinship obligations, the police had no interest at all except to sell justice to the highest bidder. Though this is certainly an overstatement of the case, many of the Iraqi police do appear to be exceedingly corrupt. So much so in fact that the new Qa'im Maqam of Rowanduz, chief magistrate of the district, was generally acclaimed by all as the almost unique example of a sincere

627 and honest administrator. The venality of the junior police officers
492 has probably an important effect upon the economic status, and hence the influence of the Aghas. The position was put to me thus by Hamid Amin Agha of Dergala. "In the old days" he said "all my followers gave me presents; nowadays few can afford to, they must keep in well with the police and then they have nothing left for me".

622 In earlier times the taifa Agha was probably in a position to
721 organise small scale military activities; even today this would appear to be partly true. I was told for instance that in 1936 Ali Agha of Bayat, head of the Shevdini, had led his men across the border and sacked a Persian police post in reprisal for the latter having impounded some of his clansmens' cattle. Naturally such incidents are strongly disapproved of by the authorities.

The Tribal Agha

619 "In the case of the Balik, as we have seen, the Agha of the
622 largest taifa, Mullasherifi, is also Agha paramount of the whole tribe, and this is doubtless the normal rule. His function as tribal Agha does not ever seem to have amounted to very much except in time of war, in which case he automatically became leader of the whole group and doubtless received economic benefits accordingly. In time of peace he only receives small token payments, such as gifts of fruit and the like, from his more remote subordinates.

[741] The evidence concerning the actual behaviour of the Balik during the disturbed times of 1914-1920 is contradictory. Sheikh Mohammed asserts that he led his people to a victorious massacre of the invading Russian army; Hamid Amin of Hangurtar on the other hand says that Sheikh Mohammed run away and that it was he Hamid Amin who saved the remnants of the Balik from annihilation and finally routed the Russians. Whatever really happened, it seems clear that Sheikh Mohammed as head of the Mullasherifi ought to have led the Balik to war, whether he actually did so or not.

The first effect of contact with the external administration was certainly to increase the influence of the tribal Agha at the expense of his fellows. Thus Ray ingenuously remarks (p. 67) "The tribal chief has many obligations towards his tenants and tribesmen, the most important of which is that he will become their spokesman in all matters which concern the Government". The British

[731] "Ray (p. 66) states that it is the custom to present the paramount chief with a pregnant ewe from every considerable flock at the beginning of the year. Ray however makes no distinction between tribes and clans and the obligation may be towards the Agha of the taifa rather than the ashiret.

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Administration moreover adopted the Turkish expedient of paying the tribal Aghas an annual salary provided they kept their tribe in order. This procedure undoubtedly gave the tribal Agha an altogether disproportionate economic influence, and has had various repercussions which will be discussed further in the next chapter. 619 622

The salary awarded to Sheikh Mahmoud of Balak was stopped some years ago and, as might be expected, his influence as tribal leader declined rapidly. As is evidenced by the rival claims of the Aghas of Bayat and Bart noted above, the Balik has scarcely any functioning unity as a tribe at the present time, though Sheikh Mahmoud with a wide sweep of his arm, still declares that all the land belongs to him and that the taifas of Shevtin and Bakr are only there on sufferance. At the present moment (1938) his prestige is probably on the upgrade since he has recently been appointed a "member of Parliament" and regularly attends the legislative assemblies in Baghdad. The appointment carries with it a small salary, but its real importance so far as the tribes are concerned is that it demonstrates that the holder is in favour with the Mutasarrif and with the Baghdad Authorities. 619 622 559

Kinship Structure

While I have here sketched out the superficial political structure of the community the real nature of the relationship between the various Aghas and their followers can only be understood in terms of kinship.

The essentially conditional nature of the Aghas' authority was only vaguely understood by the earlier British Administrators. Eg. for instance remarks (p. 97) "The Aghas are very oppressive to their tenants, more especially where the Government is close at hand and can assert its authority. In the mountain districts the tribesmen are exceedingly poor, they have little to fear from the Government, and their chief finds it difficult to coerce them. A rival chief would probably soon appear if he did". This statement brings out the fact, already well known from examples in the African field, that Government support for "the Chief" frequently gives that individual a tyrannical authority quite foreign to the ordinary tribal system of government, but it does not explain the Aghas normal relationship to his followers.

Marriage of Consanguine

As we have seen already the taifa is essentially a ' patrilineal clan. It is moreover largely endogamous by virtue of the system of cross-cousin marriage common to most Mohammedan societies. Reference to the tables of Kinship Terminology at the end of this book 69 582 000

8: Leach E-5 (1938) 1940 MAll Kurd MAll
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604 [illegible] will show that the various relatives are known by the following terms

Father's Brother's children - amam
Father's Sister's children - purrun
Mother's Brother's children - khalun
Mother's Sister's children - purrun

My knowledge of the Kurdish language was not sufficient to verify the exact use of these terms, and to some extent my informants were contradictory. It would appear however that some of these terms are "classificatory" at least so far as all members of Ego's own tira are concerned. Thus to quote an example Hamid Amin i Mangurdan considers himself amam to Sheikh Mohammad i Salah. Hamid Amin is actually great-great-grandson of Mir Mahmud Agha and Sheikh Mohammad is great-grandson of the same man. Again I was told of the Dizai tribe, a group widely scattered in Area C that "they all call one another amam" - (implying that they were all one tira)

592 604 According to my informants the order of preferred marriages is:-

1st Amam
2nd Purrun (Father's sister's daughter)
3rd Khalun
4th Purrun (Mother's sister's daughter)

This statement seems consistent with the customs recorded for other Kohsanian areas (See Soligman R.F. op.cit 268) but I was unable to check the frequency of particular types of marriage. It should be noted that Father's Brother's Daughter (amam) and Mother's Sister's Daughter (purrun) may frequently be the same individual, and similarly Mother's Brother's Daughter (Khalun) may coincide with Father's sister's Daughter (purrun). Amam and Khalun could however only coincide if both were used in a classificatory sense. I did not actually encounter any classificatory use of the term Khalun and this probably refers only to the immediate children of the mother's brother (khalo). It would appear that until very recently not only was marriage between amam the preferred norm, it was also a definite right. Soy (p. 71) even records the gruesome murder of a girl who refused to abide by this ruling. Today though marriage restrictions are to some extent relaxed it is probable that the great majority of commoners still take their wives from within the patrilineal group. There is in fact very little choice in the matter. In the Balik country at any rate the proportion of 'strangers' - e.g. Jews, Assyrian Christians, Gradars, Zerin from other tribes and so forth, is very small; nearly everyone within the group belongs to one of the three patrilineal clans. These clans moreover are themselves more or less segregated each by itself. Within any single gaut nearly everyone is of the same clan as the Agha.

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In the ideal, the Kurdish family which maintains ortho-cousin marriage and does not require the wife to change her place of residence on marriage forms what may be termed a "fraternal" group. Brothers are close neighbours or even share the same house. They frequently work their landholdings jointly, perhaps even in cooperation with their cousins. The marriage of ortho-cousins closely serves to simplify and perpetuate such cooperation. Moreover in such a case the bride-price, whatever its nominal amount - and the Kurds are keen to flatter their wives by asserting that they have paid a quite fabulous price for them, - is in practice nothing but a sort of book entry, a transfer of assets from the right hand to the left. Even where the marriage to father's brother's daughter does not take place, there is still a strong tendency for a man to marry a girl from his own village - i.e. a classificatory "ortho-cousin" - if for no other reason than that the Agha must approve of all marriages and he has an obvious interest in keeping the group as closely unified as possible. Besides, a man of the commoner class would normally have competitively few opportunities of either meeting or bargaining for a girl from another village, still less for a girl of another clan or tribe. Startling romances and elopements do take place, but they are the exception and are usually followed by a long and bloody trail of vengeance. For the commoner the general rule of marriage within the tribe is fairly well understood. In this connection the building of the road will probably have important consequences for the Balik in the near future, since the ordinary tribesman can now much more readily make contact with groups other than his own immediate kindred.

592. 582. [illegible] [illegible]

Marriage of Aghas

The foregoing applies however only to the marriage arrangements of commoner families [illegible]. Quite different are the conditions that govern the marriage of the son of an Agha. Mohammedan law permits a man to have four wives at a time, and to effect divorce simply by the pronouncement of the word talaq three times. In practice scarcely any of the commoners among the Balik can afford more than one wife, and polygyny is the almost exclusive prerogative of the Aghas. The marriage to father's brother's daughter serves to simplify and concentrate the inheritance of cattle, implements and other items of 'capital' equipment within the economic working unit of the group household and to avoid friction over the inheritance of tenancy rights. But the Agha is not swayed by considerations of inheritance since, in the limited sense already described, he 'owns' all the available land himself and there is no question of splitting up the territory at death. His aim rather is to gain prestige and live at peace with his neighbours. We find therefore that the marriages of Aghas tend to take the form of political alliances, rather after the style of the royal marriages of mediaeval Europe. Sheikh Mohammed Agha of Balwah for instance, who in the course of a long life has had 9 wives and 25 surviving children, appears to be related either by marriage or

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8: Leach E-S (1938) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
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622 through the marriage of his sons to nearly every important leader,
581 tribal, religious, or townsman, within fifty miles radius. More humble Aghas are content with one or two alliances with neighbouring notables, while the rest of their offspring are married off to members of their own community, thus further strengthening the bonds of kinship between the Agha and his followers. It is interesting to examine the effect of this in greater detail.

> Sheikh Mohammed of Palash was one of 3 surviving brothers; he himself has had nine wives and has six surviving sons, and several daughters

> Mir Hamid Amin of Dergala has had 6 wives and 24 children of which there survive 9 sons and 5 daughters.

If we consider the male side of the tree only, it would appear that the average reproduction rate of a 'princely' Agha is of the order of 8 surviving sons. If we assume that the total population of the villages remains very roughly stationary we must reach the conclusion that the effective birthrate is very heavily loaded in favour of the Aghas. The effect of this would seem to be that in many of the smaller villages the Agha is not only of the same clan as nearly everyone but actually quite closely related to about half the population. I was unable to make any accurate census of a village but my observations at Palash were I think reasonably accurate, and tend to confirm this calculation.

622 There appeared to be twelve separate households, of which four
582 are accounted for by the Agha's fortress and the establishments of his third and fourth married sons and of a brother. (The two eldest sons have been established as Aghas in their own right over neighbouring villages). The population I estimated at ninety, in the proportion twenty five men, thirty women, thirty five children. The Aghas household appeared to consist of about twenty persons including his younger children and personal servants; while the households of his married sons and his brother contained about eight persons each. In this case therefore quite half the population of the qual was in immediate kinship or economic relationship with the Agha. The case may be exceptional, but serves to explain why a rental of 5/% of the yield of the land does not in practice prove extortionate.

622 Comparison of these observations and those of Hay

64 The foregoing account shows the interrelationship of the
114 political and kinship organisation among the Balik Kurds. As a commentary upon sociological method it is interesting to note that

> "This village would appear to be fairly average so far as size is concerned, though centres such as Dergala and Nerga are vastly larger. Palash however is in some respects the private fortress of Sheikh Mohammed and its kinship organisation may not be typical.

8: Leach E-S (1958) 1960 Hall Hard Hall
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happens when the same empirical facts are considered without an adequate appreciation of the sociological significance of kinship. The following quotations illustrate the position of the Aghas as understood by Bay.

The first is reasonable enough:-

(p. 45) A tribe is a community or federation of communities which exists for the protection of the members against external aggression and for the maintenance of the old social system and standards of life. Some tribes have an evangelical chief; some have many.

The second is more hypothetical:-

(p. 45/46) The position of the chief varies greatly in different tribes. In the reactor communities, though granted the most engrossing chieftains, he is distinctly one of the tribesmen, the leading member of a family which has won its leadership through military prowess. Lower down he often belongs to an entirely separate caste, and comes from a different stock to the tribesmen. The large tribes are divided into sections, and in different tribes we find many sections with the same names. This points to the fact that the sections represent belong to powerful families who have imposed their families and elected their lords. This is notably the case with the Bizal where nearly all the land belongs to one powerful family, against which a few old tribal Aghas and headmen still maintain an unequal struggle. Here the chief is a landlord, and the system that prevails is feudal rather than tribal.

The statement that in the foothill and plains area the Aghas are frequently of different stock to their villagers is valid and has already been commented upon in Chapter 1. The idea that the Aghas "represent the original owners of the soil", while the permanent tribal Aghas are conquering overlords is more fantasy, while as for the Bizal the facts seem to be that the tribe itself is "all one family" (which while the land is mostly held by town dwelling landlords who have no kinship affiliations with the Bizal at all. While this lineage distinction between Agha and tenant is valid for the plains area, it does not apply to the tribal districts. The following for instance is quite absurd:-

(Bay, p. 47) In the bigger tribes the Aghas, whose families have for many generations been entirely disassociated from manual labour, are of a far finer type than the peasants.

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[illegible]
Such generalizations may lead to some startling conclusions.

[illegible] This village [Bergas Bag ?] lies just below Sheikh Ahmadi Agha's residence [Balak ?] on the Balak country, and the inhabitants, some fifty families in number, are nearly all his subjects. Being of 'Jaf' descent they continue to beseech their Agha's aid to achieve the ends they have therefore only two means of livelihood, cultivating on Sheikh Ahmadi land who pays them part of the wheat to help them plant, and herding and taking toll from the caravans that pass along the Persian road.

This paragraph I consider most illuminating. For it is precisely on the basis of such evidence that the British policy of 'military pacification' is carried out as all the outlying inhabitants of Barzan, the villagers just beyond the border are always, it seems, 'desperate bandits and brigands' intent on plundering the innocent peaceful subjects of the British raj. Out of course that is emphatically nonsense. We had only seen Bergas three days and was merely recording the position as outlined to him by Sheikh Ahmadi. In giving this account however Sheikh Ahmadi was fairly obviously [illegible] selling the British administration his own wares, and was probably [illegible] to maintain a prosperous village. There seems no reason to suppose that the position was radically different in 1951, even though the ravages of war had temporarily disorganized the agricultural arrangements of the whole area.

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This is not special pleading on behalf of the villagers of Bergas or of the Sheikh in general, but it is time that their collective activities were cast in proper proportion. It must be admitted that prior to the establishment of an external authority most Kurdish tribes fiercely resented its intrusion in every possible occasion. It was a entirely approved aspect of inter-tribal life and one upon which the Kurds themselves lay great emphasis in folk tale and tradition. But it is this very emphasis that has led to the fabulous distortions that appear in all accounts of Kurdish life either by an official. In fact the literature one must suppose that in former times the majority of Kurdish communities lived solely on the proceeds of pillage and robbery and while the Government continues its present policy of cultural suppression such fallacies are obviously convenient. But the unbiased observer cannot avoid the conclusion that most of the more spectacular exploits of Kurdish brigandage are products of the Kurds' own imagination. Even in Kurdistan where these warlike activities can never have been more than an exciting glean upon the normal, balanced cycle of agricultural occupation.

Notes of analysis noting the further study

The foregoing analysis has drawn emphasis on the fact that the rights in of the male kinship group as the majority of the followers and most closely related to many of them. It was interesting to note that to accommodate the basic data of Jingulu differentiated between "bone relations" (by adoption) and "kinship" (consanguinity), but I doubt whether there is any precise dividing line between the two classifications. I would not be included in the former term at least some of the second cousins. The practical difference seemed to be that the bone relations to sit in the guest house by night while the kinship could only do so by special permission. Linguistically bone appeared to be a reflection between the terms kinship and mudiga both of which were considered to be an entire relation (yawanti). In this area however there is considerable overlapping between the two Gurindji dialects of Kunajti and Gurti and the confusion is probably only due to my linguistic incompetence.

Another point that requires further elaboration is the precise significance of the title Ngiri. We have seen that from the point of view of political organization each goal has at any time one, and only one, Ngiri, in the sense of landlord. The association however does not necessarily follow the rules of primogeniture. As it happens both Purnili Kitchener Ngiri of Yelnak and Alli Ngiri of Ngapi were living with the former were the elder brother (Gurti a critical term) and Yelnak as part in village affairs; to the latter definite Ngiri who lives in Alli Ngiri's house in Ngapi throughout the winter sense off into the wet-time to the eastern with the sheep and goats and a few of the villagers and occasionally his own wife [settlement of Wimbi Wimbi]. But though definite to the elder brother there is never any suggestion that anyone but Alli Ngiri is head of the group. On the other hand though the Ngiri of Ngapi is quite definitely Alli Ngiri the title is much more widely distributed as a form of address. Thus to Ngapi the old chief Alli, the brother, his two nephew's Charlie and Alli and presumably his wife's sister also who was away during my visit) are all given the title Ngiri in ordinary speech. And this seems to be the normal usage. When Rabbit Nelli's brother to Ngapiwin is known as Ngiri Ngiri though he lives with Purnili as a landlord, and Rabbit Nehemiah Ngiri's first cousin once all carry the title. What is not clear is how the title is inherited on the lineage agnatic. For instance will the sons of Charlie, who will in their time presumably be second cousins of the outgoing Ngiri of Ngapi also carry the title? Probably there is no definite rule.

In the remainder of this book where I refer to the Ngiri or the Ngiri of a particular group I shall imply only those individuals who fulfil the sociological function of the Ngiri, and not any male or even relatives who happen to bear the name title. The sociological function of the good Ngiri can be quite clearly defined. He is the

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620 landlord of the soil - by which title he receives rent, and he supports the village feast house. As we shall see later when the functions are closely interrelated.

630 Social Organization Areas other than Hills

An exhaustive outline of information for groups other than the hills must be treated with concern. The following notes may however prove of value to further students of the area.

621/ 177 Area 5. It would appear that the tribes of this area such as the Kachin and the Shanbwe were originally organized on much the same lines as described above but owing to their relatively long period of contact with an external administration the social forms have now become blurred. The general tendency seems to be for the land to become the property of absentee landlords having no kinship relations with their tenants. The village economy took the form temporarily exhibited among the Hills.

624 Area 6. Section has already been made of the principle political tribes of this area, the Shans and the Kachin. With the Shans as exemplar by far the organization is feudal rather than tribal, since the village heads are not of the same kin group as their headmen. I was told that "all the Shans call each other cousin" implying, if true, that the whole tribe consists of one noble caste. With the Kachin the predominant chief, is himself a Kachin but is a newcomer to Hukaung and holds himself very much aloof from his followers.

3&/ 272 In the technological aspects the plains culture differs markedly from that of the hills, especially as regards housebuilding and agricultural equipment. An important archeological difference is that, owing to the limited water supply, the position of the village sites is determined and limited by the occurrence of water holes, and the villages in consequence are longer than those found in the hills. From the size of the surrounding cemetery and from archaeological considerations it would appear that some such sites [illegible for context] have been in continuous occupation for several thousand years.

The Kumis

62/ Though my information is extremely scanty the indications are that the social organization of tribes such as the Kumi differs in many respects from that of the vertical tribes. In terminology the term kaitla appears to correspond to sakkawt and khel to hkiik but the identity may not be exact. The term kaka corresponds to gaul and implies a small settlement of twelve to one hundred. This last term is also used by the vertical peoples. Thus among the Kumikai

of Ndiz the people leave their villages during the hot months of the summer and live in huts instead. This was the case when I visited all kgbe of Ngezi. Apart on this occasion had an a series of huts divided into two separate halfs one under his kgbe himself and the other under his brother, both were located within a mile or so of the deserted village. Among the Lamba, I was told, the halfs are small in size, each group consisting mainly of a single extended family (e.g. father, brothers, sons and dependents). Although in the course of their annual migration the Ndiz spread out over a wide area the whole group of "more than 2000 people" are directly controlled by a single permanent chief, Mutale Ngbe I Ndiz. According to my informants the Ndiz own over a million sheep and some 20,000 cattle; but the Ndiz are notoriously fond of large figures. A notable characteristic of the Ndiz appears to be their extreme hardiness. They live in their black huts throughout the winter and I was told numerous improbable tales of the astonishing vigours and privations they are said to put up with. They appear to have an almost legendary quality even for the neighbouring peoples through whose land they pass.

B: Leach E-S (1938) 1940 NA11 Kurd NA11
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[illegible]

[illegible] 9

The Guest House

428. In far as here been mainly concerned with describing the relative social positions of the different individuals that go to make up the Kurdish tribal community. It is now necessary to consider these same relationships as an institutional given and to examine more specifically the economic context in which they operate.

I have defined the position of the village Agha in Pourtaval terms as (a) the individual who "owns" the land and who receives rent by virtue of that title and (b) the individual responsible for the upkeep of the Guest House. We must now examine this definition more carefully.

424 It is a sentimental feature of Kurdish custom that the stranger, whatever his rank and position, is entitled to free board and lodging at the expense of the Agha. The more lavish the Agha's hospitality 422. the greater the esteem of his fellows; so much so that the prestige a man gains by virtue of being a good and generous host may in terms of 429 negotiable daily discount disadvantages of birth. Small wonder Agha of Rowanduz for example though only a poor man and a fairly distant cousin of the ruling chief of his clan has a tremendous reputation throughout the district simply on account of his hospitality. In all other it was maintained that he was much more of a real Agha - the Kurdish ideal in the same as our own! Even the cynical shrewd Kurdish Schoolmaster agha of Galash. If Guest Rate was not an exception, it was argued, he also would be stuck and penniless. *Kurdish Schoolmaster was silently not an old woman. It must be admitted that a more cynical explanation for generosity may not being with it any particular negative reward in the form of economic advantage or practical influence. But the patients of the society is such that this form of reputation is esteemed above all others, and it is in the light of this set of values that the institution of the Guest House must be considered.

349 The the Kurds society the Guest House is seldom actually a home. Visitor travellers are few and can be accommodated if 429 necessary somewhere in the Agha's own stationary during the summer on 394 the other hand a steady pergola is erected somewhere close to the Agha's house and furnished with carpets, mats and cushions. It is here that the traveller is expected to take his meals and sleep.

* This individuality seems to have been Sheikh Mahmoud's reputation throughout his life: see Map p. 253.

† In the plains villages however the great heat of the summer and the greater frequency of visitor travellers necessitates a permanent building for the Guest House. For description see Map 47 - 49.

8: Leach E-S (1938) 1940 MAII Kurd MAII
Rowanduz

among semi-nomadic groups such as the Shwtiel who spend their summer in Khalk below the "Guest House" is a portion of the Aghas land specially partitioned off for the purpose. This corresponds to Arab balmain usage. The Agha himself spends much of his day in and about the Guest House and directly supervises the ordering of the meals which he suitably adjusts according to the dignity of his visitor. The actual preparation of the meals is in the hands of the womenfolk, but properly speaking these should never themselves appear in the Guest House. If the visitor has any social eminence the Agha will also sleep in the Guest House himself as a kind of protection, or else impose one of his sons to do so.

But what concerns us here is not so much the description of the Guest House as such, but rather its economic and social significance.

The hospitality offered is free and theoretically unlimited, but in practice any individual of low rank who overstayed his welcome would soon be made conscious of the fact. For those of higher status matters dividuate that the visitor should offer his host a substantial gift immediately after the preliminary introductions. I have no information as to the scale of such presents in normal Kurdish usage. In my own case since I was anxious to establish my good name with all concerned, both gifts and hospitality received were probably on an exaggerated scale. I had to rely upon the advice of my interpreter for the quality and quantity of the goods I offered. In kind they included sugar, tea, coffee, cloth, matches, soap and cigarette paper, each the most important item being sugar. The quantities varied according to the length of my intended stay and the eminence of my host. Thus Sheikh Mohammed of Palmak received proportionately more than his nominal vassal Ismail Aziz of Rayanduz. On average my host and lodging together with that of my interpreter cost me a sack of sugar (56 Kilos) a week.

The Expenditure of the Agha

The procedure raises the interesting question as to whether or not it is profitable to run a Guest House. From the Kurdish viewpoint the Guest House represents an enormous drain upon the Agha's resources, but this attitude is to be expected since the more the Agha can persuade his neighbours that he is being made bankrupt by the lavishness of his hospitality the greater will be his reputation. Sheikh Mohammed Agha of Palmak for instance was particularly insistent that his Guest House was bringing him to the edge of ruin, and I questioned him closely on the matter. I noted that while he included under Guest House expenditure a variety of items that were purely personal; in reckoning income he took no account at all of gifts received. To take an example he complained that for the upkeep of his Guest House he was having to feed thirty people and kill at least a kid a day. On trying to discover how he had arrived at this figure

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574 of thirty persons I reached the conclusion that it was made up as
556 follows:-
672

1	The Agha himself	
1	Wife	
2	Sons	
6	Daughters	
7	Relationships	Barely kinsfolk of some sort
4	Dependants	
1	Wife	
1	Brother	
5	Guests	
3	By suggestion	
30		

In fact it became quite clear that he lumped together all household expenditure as "the expense of the Guest House", though in fact his expenditure on the guests represented only a small fraction of the total.

263 However the really expensive item in Guest House upkeep is not
872 the killing of a kid a day, but the cost of sugar, tea and coffee:
177 especially sugar. During the last fifty years or so the Persian style
425 of tea drinking has become fashionable throughout Kurdistan. The tea
577 is brewed very strong over charcoal and served with enormous quantities of lump sugar. The samovar is brought into operation as soon as the guest arrives and tea is served at periodical intervals until he goes away again. Owing to the high import duties and costs of transport, sugar costs about £5/- a bag (of 56 kilos); and I was told that a bag would last a Guest House such as that of Sangsin about a month provided there were no special occasions such as weddings and funerals to be allowed for. If this figure is anywhere near accurate it implies an expenditure of some £37 per annum on sugar alone, which, considering the limited facilities available for obtaining ready cash, is a very substantial sum indeed. Actually the situation must be radically affected by the fact that,as noted above,the guest gives presents to his host. As might be expected the gifts that are most acceptable and most frequently given are the luxury imports already mentioned - sugar, tea and coffee. I cannot then be certain whether, prestige considerations apart, it is an economic advantage or disadvantage for an Agha to have a large number of guests. Even funerals which involve a 764 long period of polite 'social calls' continuing for over a month, and which certainly involve the Agha in heavy outgoings of rice and meat, may yet, it would appear, prove to be profitable in the long run.

262 On the other hand whatever may be the immediate relationship,
511 between the Guest House and the Agha's net income, the importance of Guest House expenditure in the economics of the group as a whole must

are to underestimated. The consumption of sugar, tea and coffee is to a large extent confined to the Hart House and it is important to recognise that these are the principle items of ordinary consumption that have to be paid for in cash. In the simple foods, wheat, rice, meat, fruits, etc. each small community can be largely self supporting: it is only the luxury foodstuffs associated with the Hart House which have to be paid for in cash. The effect of this upon the general economic organisation will be discussed presently.

Meanwhile it should be noted again how closely linked from the British viewpoint is the upkeep of the Hart House and the upkeep of the Aghas household in general. This attitude is not as inconsistent as it first appears. Although the womenfolk never appear in the Hart House, it is they who do all the work connected with it. It is the women who grow and prepare the meat (a milk product similar to yoghourth) it is the women who make the bread and do all the cooking - and all this in more for several pairs of hands. In the commoner's house one wife alone can readily enough accomplish all the work required of her, but the hospitality undertaken by an Agha in his Hart House involves the work of a number of women, and this is consistent with the fact that the Agha's household is normally the only polygamous group in the community.

A further point to be noted in this connection is that not only does the Agha's household include an abnormal proportion of women, but that the upkeep of these women is much more expensive than the average. In the Balik area nearly all the males here their clothes made from locally woven cloth; even the Aghas and their sons, though enjoying better quality materials than the commoners, still mainly use Balik cloth and endure the fancy clothing adopted by womenfolk and the Aghas of the plains. This appears to be due to their economic position tending rather than to economic necessity. A number of the Aghas of Dayet Kan were wearing a suit of ordinary Scottish style but made of obviously expensive imported cloth in plain bright colours, - this was much admired; but at the same time a trader from Rowanduz, who was wearing a rig out of the cheap gaudily striped Japanese cloth typical of Near Eastern Bazaars, was held up to ridicule as a man of no taste. Anyway, as the conventions are at present, neither the commoner nor the Agha incurs much cash expenditure in connection with his own clothes; but for the womenfolk it is different. In the old days they too were well satisfied with the simple cloths produced on the local looms, but now more and more they are becoming eager for 'Stylie and Forbelow' - Japanese cotton prints for the commoners, Indian silks for the wives of Aghas. In part this is the inevitable result of the greater facilities for trading contact brought about by 'pacification' and the building of the road, but the tendency was undoubtedly accelerated by [illegible]

* The more important Aghas often import extra supplies of rice so as to avoid giving their guests the inferior rice substitute grown (see later).

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Rowanduz

Oga

the policy of the administration after the Great War.

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778
494

Formerly the village communities were, within the limits of a somewhat meagre standard of living, virtually self supporting. Trade and currency circulation were both minimal. "The British administration's policy of buying the loyalty of the tribal chiefs by means of a cash salary resulted in there being available within the community substantial amounts of currency for which there was no immediate outlet except in the purchase of luxuries. Moreover this wealth was not distributed evenly throughout the community but concentrated into the hands of a few leaders, Aghas. The result has many analogies with similar phenomena observed in Africa. The preliminary expenditure creates a sudden taste for luxuries within a small segment of the community. There are vague heavings both in scope and intensity out of all proportion to the ability of the community to satisfy them, with the inevitable result that the economic balance of the community is upset and the originally wealthy group, by developing expensive tastes, becomes eventually an economic drain upon the community. The process can indeed be expressed in general economic terms applicable even to the conditions of our own society.

Expenditure by the Government can for a time create a new large effective demand, but when this expenditure ceases and the income of the community keeps the newly created wants unsatisfied. The result is not a reversion to the original situation but an adaptation of it, in which the available income is allocated to new ends in an attempt to give partial satisfaction to the newly created wants.

There can be no doubt that in the Balik country, under the influence of the Government activity, the income of the more important Aghas and their immediate dependants developed a high degree of sophistication without any corresponding improvement in the productivity of the community as a whole. With the establishment of effective police authority in the Rowanduz valley the subsidy to the tribal leaders was suspended as being unnecessary. The consequences were inevitable. The foreign clothing and house furnishings which had formerly been mere luxuries had by this time developed into essential necessaries. Today the more sophisticated Aghas such as Sheikh Mohammed of Balek and Hamid Agha of Dargala are feeling the pinch severely. They will tell you that times are hard and that they can no longer afford to maintain the standard they were accustomed to in the days of their youth, but the truth rather would seem to be that they are vainly trying to maintain a much "higher" standard than was ever thought of

* It is difficult to obtain from Kurdish sources reliable information of the exact level. Sheikh Mohammed's son assured me that at one time his father possessed over £1,000 in gold and specie. At the present time he appears to be in debt to merchants and moneylenders.

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in slack times, so that the economy of the village will not stand the strain.

Such points lead to this by the fact that Ali Agha of Sayat (head of the Shevtini), who being a nominal subordinate of Sheikh Mahmoud received a Government subsidy, has remained a simple tribesman with few tendencies towards sophistication. However, the free lancing the new order he seems to find the present times extremely prosperous and is openly pressing his claims with the Government to have the Shevtini and registered in his own name, so that he can establish his people's claim to be an admixed in their own right instead of merely a tribe of the Bolik. It seems significant too that the Shevtini, who alone have never had to undergo the economic shock of temporary investment support, appear to be today much the most integrated group in the ecological sense.

One further generalization emerges from this analysis. We noted earlier that of the food consumed by the village, the only items that must be purchased by each are sugar, tea, coffee and in some cases rice. We noted further that practically the whole of this expenditure was incurred by the Agha in connection with the maintenance of the guest room and his own household. Now from our analysis of other forms of cash expenditure we see that these too fall almost exclusively on the Agha rather than the commoner. The Agha's expenditure thus differs from that of the commoner not only in volume but also very largely in kind. This distortion has important bearings for our further analysis.

Economic Balance of the Village Community

Of the various village groups in the area here described it is scarcely possible to select any single community as typical, so far as agricultural production is concerned. While all the groups are interested in approximately the same range of products, what might be called the 'emphasis of production' varies considerably. One village may specialise in fruit growing, another in wheat, another in tobacco and so on. This differentiation stems partly from geographical considerations - such as altitude, water supply, soil fertility - and partly from the conservative prejudices of the Agha community. Owing to the increased trading contacts opened up since the coming of the road, and the need to satisfy newly developed wants for imported "luxury" goods the whole structure of the economic organization of these hill people is undergoing very rapid change and readjustment. The individual variations as between different villages at the present time depend in the main upon the degree to which this readjustment to changed external circumstances has already taken place. It should be borne in mind therefore that the synthetic account of this process of change in the following few pages, though valid in general terms if applied to the district as a whole, is not necessarily applicable to any single village community.

any single village community.

The basis of the ordinary Kurdish menu is unleavened bread, bakat in this state (nan), and a sour milk product of the yoghourt type (mast); in addition by a rather elaborate process of boiling the whole wheat grain and then crushing it, a sort of imitation boiled rice (wana) is produced, which is eaten just as ordinary pilaf would be with stewed vegetables or mutton. The fundamentals of the food supply are thus wheat and goats. And in fact by far the greater proportion of arable land is devoted to wheat cultivation. Such land is normally worked on an alternate system - one year crop, one year fallow and this rotation is apparently sufficient to maintain the soil in fertility. The supplementary acreage devoted to vegetables such as maroons, tomatoes, ghantine, bahijal, lentils, etc. is very approximately one sixth of the wheat land. For the most part the vegetable acreage requires irrigation.

Though wheat has the largest acreage, rice would everywhere be the preferred crop if it could be extensively cultivated. The rice yield in volume is roughly thirty times greater than that of wheat for equal areas of cultivation, and the Kurd is well aware of the advantages to be gained by increasing his rice acreage at the expense of the wheat. He would willingly substitute cooked rice (p'lau) for the nan if it could be managed. I discussed this matter in some detail with Sheikh Mohammed of Galosh and it was clear that he was firmly under the impression that the acreage devoted to rice in Galosh was the maximum the irrigation system would stand, and this was probably the case, though the irrigation was in fact very substantially arranged.

A third cereal grown only in small quantities is millet.

As things are at present, the cereal production is barely adequate for the needs of the local community and there can certainly be no exports. In fact most of the Aghas purchase additional supplies of rice from outside so as to be able always to serve p'lau to their guests instead of nan.

In former times this bare self-sufficiency in cereal production set up great strain on the economics of the community. For commodities had to be imported; clothing was almost entirely locally produced, and trade requirements were limited to a small range of metal goods and certain luxuries such as tea and sugar. But as has

* In the villages around Dargala there is an exceptional acreage devoted to the cultivation of nesk, which appears to be a kind of lentils, but the proportion of wheat land is here correspondingly reduced. In this area presumably most of the nesk crop is traded.

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seen pointed out in a previous section the events of the last thirty years have served to create a steadily increasing demand for a range of imports which, if they might previously have been classed as luxuries, are now regarded by the Hinis themselves as essential necessities. Whatever the immediate nature of the cash or credit transactions by which such goods are purchased, they must ultimately be paid for by the 'exports' of the community as a whole, and the problem arises as to how this can be done in a community which, on the face of it, can only produce a bare self-sufficiency of primary products. The following table shows approximately the categories of goods that go to make up the 'balance of trade' for the tribes of the Balik area.

Imports

First Quality Rice for Aghas (Hatu) exist - chiefly from Persia).
Sugar, Tea, Coffee, Matches, Metalware, Clothing, Kerosene, Spec.
Of these the most important are rice, sugar, tea and clothing.

Exports

Tobacco, Lentils, Walnuts, Galbanum, Honey.
Fruits- Apricots, Apples, Pears, Grapes, Melons, Almonds.
Wool and Sheepskins.
Of these by far the most important is tobacco.

In addition there are certain cash transactions that must be taken into account which are independent of the process of trade. On the debit side certain sales- taxes and legal dues have to be paid in cash to the Government, and there is an excise duty on tobacco. This latter is nominally due only on tobacco actually traded but in practice it appears to be charged on the private supplies of the cultivator also. The Agha again incurs certain cash expenditure in educating his children. He also incurs very substantial expenditure in 'purchasing' his very wives and those of his sons, but since the majority of such marriages take place within the group these exchanges do not necessarily affect the economy of the community as a whole. On the credit side one must allow for the fact that a small number of tribes-people are earning wages either in Rowanduz or down on the plain, and that such people may send home part of their earnings in cash.

In general however it is fairly true to say that all the goods imported by the groups of the Balik area must ultimately be paid for by the proceeds of surplus fruit and tobacco. Large scale fruit production is limited to the villages around Rwat, and I will therefore consider only the problem as it affects tobacco production, this crop having a much more general relevance.

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36
Effects of an Increase in Tobacco Cultivation

276 The Kurds are inveterate smokers and have cultivated their own
279 variation of tobacco for several centuries. Though these particular varieties are still the preferred smoke for the Kurds themselves, they have little or no trade value owing to the crumbly nature of the leaf. In recent years however a number of modern cigarette factories have been started in and around Baghdad, thus creating a good market for a better class leaf. In the main this market is satisfied by the more sophisticated Kurdish areas such as Sulaimani, but the tribesmen of the Rowanduz district are also slowly beginning to adapt their production to the new conditions. In this they receive encouragement from the Government and the factory owners who supply free seed and instruction to those who want it; this service by the Government is of course more than recouped by the ultimate excise on the resulting product.

311 Under these new conditions the imported tobacco leaf has a cash
279 value proportionately vastly in excess of that of wheat or rice. In terms of a money economy it would be possible to increase the area of land devoted to the production of tobacco at the expense of that devoted to wheat and rice.

Furthermore since, other things being equal, the area of tobacco cultivation would again only be limited by the supply of irrigation water available, the logical thing to do would be to abolish the rice cultivation altogether and substitute tobacco, both on the rice land itself and also on much of the wheat land - (tobacco requiring less water than rice). This development has actually taken place in certain of the lowland villages, notably in the Assyrian community round Salwa, and the resulting financial advantage has been very marked; but in the Balik area the increase in tobacco acreage seems so far to have been very slight. In the highest villages such as Shalam and Sapna climatic conditions are probably unfavourable, but lower down in the valleys around Banga and Dengalo where tobacco and rice are at present grown side by side there seems to be no immediate technical reason why the former crop should not be expanded. There would of course be certain difficulties in connection with the re-organisation of the water courses, and there is the problem of specialist training in tobacco cultivation but in the main it would appear that the problems involved are social rather than technical. If it were possible for every individual tenant to grow tobacco in equal quantities the transition to a modern cash economy might be simple. But in practice the existing tenancy rights are such that any extension of the tobacco cultivation must affect unequally different sections of the community - those whose land is converted to the new cultivation benefiting at the expense of the rest. We may analyse the problem in economic form in terms of the factors of production involved.

030 Land. The land potentially available for tobacco cultivation

Leach. The land potentially available for irrigation"

In roughly speaking all the arable land that can be effectively irrigated; - its extent being limited both by the configuration of the land and the available water supply. Here immediately there are complications. The irrigation system as at present arranged may serve a number of purposes 249 312 421

1. Irrigation of rice cultivation - which in most villages appear to be a personal plot pertaining to the Agha alone and not a tenant's holding in the ordinary sense.

2. Portable irrigation of the vegetable gardens. In any re-organisation this would have to be maintained.

3. Portable irrigation of existing tobacco areas.

4. In some villages (e.g. Dergala) for irriving the mill, which is owned either by the Agha himself or a near relative.

Any reorganisation of such a system would affect a number of different individuals whose immediate interests may be directly conflicting. The Agha for instance is hardly likely to abandon his rice plot which is his personal property merely to provide his tenants with more water to grow tobacco; but on the other hand if he reserves the whole of the tobacco cultivation for himself the tenants whose land is interfered with will have a justifiable grievance. It might well be found in fact that in any particular village the rearrangement of the water supply so as to provide a greater tobacco acreage would in practice involve a completely new allocation of land holdings to all the inhabitants, a reform which would certainly be very difficult to carry out. It may be significant that at Setas where such a re-organisation of cultivation has in fact been brought about the irrigation tenants were not entrants in the district and there was no old established system of tenancy rights supported by an ancestral tradition.

A further question of interest in the problem of "irrigable" land. It is true that the land configuration, somewhat similar to that of the Aghas villages of the Dasnawa District, sets a definite limit to the area that can be cultivated, but on the other hand there does to be a number of small marginal areas, at present under scrub, which might be brought into cultivation if the available water were more efficiently utilised and the cash incentive were sufficient to repay the extra labour involved. The 'rights' over such reclaimed land rest at present exclusively with the Agha. 428 311

Labour. The labour available is the labour of the tenant occupiers and their families; it would seem that the substitution of tobacco for cereals would affect the balance rather than the volume of work required. Under the present system the chief harvest comes in 64 211

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464 Late June and threshing proceeds steadily from July to October. The
291 much smaller rice harvest comes late in the year, in September. With less
sheet and no rice, threshing could be finished by mid-September leaving
labour free for the main work of the autumn harvest. On the other
hand the tobacco plant requires a great deal of finicky attention during
the early stages of its growth which coincide with the wheat harvest.
It is possible therefore that any final increase in the tobacco
cultivation is dependent upon the introduction of improved methods of
threshing. A much greater difficulty arises from the fact that the
change in labour requirements would not be equally distributed as
between different households. Whereas at present each household has
approximately the same programme sheet, the situation would be greatly
complicated if one man's land was forced to tobacco and his neighbour's
only to wheat. The difficulty can be avoided if all the tobacco
cultivation were "owned" by the Agha - the cultivator being under
obligation to work for his Agha before for a fellow cultivator. Such a
development would never be entertained by the Government however since
the system would be regarded as "exploitation" of the tribesman by his
chief."

249 Capital. The additional capital required for tobacco as opposed
646 to normal cultivation is not very significant. The Government is
prepared to supply seed and expert advice; so far as I know the process
of drying does not require any initial technical apparatus. The re-
organisation of the irrigation plan would of course be an initial
'capital' expenditure for the whole community.

Technique. On the whole I am the more inclined that Government
is prepared to offer expert advice rather overemphasises the social
aspects of the technical problem. I have already indicated that the
entire Kurdish tobacco crop is a traditional peasant product in a
peasant subsistence that is quite alien for the purposes of a modern
factory. In order to produce marketable products, the farmer has to
be taught entirely new methods. The cultivator is here to against
several types of difficulty. Partly there is a simple conservative
resistance, the dislike of new ideas, not simply because they are new
but because the practitioner is a old methods thinks he knows best.
But there are other difficulties of a much more intimate kind. Here
is an example.

249 The Government are prepared to supply approved villagers with a
609 trained expert to supervise the curing and harvesting of tobacco.
648 But a man may object to the village of Balak. He was a Bek, but a
tobacco from the plains and therefore considers a man of low social

* In Persia, where in Pahlavi times the Imperial Bishop takes the
place of the Agha, the tobacco crop is [illegible] and
difficulties over individual labour requirements thus obviated. But then
a Christian Bishop is obviously not the same thing as a tribal Agha!

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609
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498

[illegible] 433
249
174

of

423 being well sufficient in his production, trading only that which is
299 surplus to his requirements. Under the new conditions the local
178 production of cereals will be inadequate and the difference will have to be made up by trading between the chiefs. Thus for the first time the ordinary commoner will be forced to evaluate his basic foodstuffs in terms of a cash economy - and this may have serious consequences. Rice grown exclusively for export is an economically valuable (in terms of cash) crop and with any other Kachin production that came will forward villages may come to rely on this crop to the exclusion of all others, thus making the welfare of the community dependent upon fluctuations in the price of tobacco on the English market, - hardly a desirable development.

299 The social consequences of an increase in tobacco cultivation may be equally drastic. Consider the instance the author of note.
427 In a previous section I have suggested that the commoner normally pays
426 his rights DUE of the yield of his land, and this is ordinarily no great hardship since the commoner family lives satisfactorily on the remaining 90%. However in terms of cash the rental does not represent very much - at 1000 patsoes, a ton of dried would purchase locally only just over 50 kilos of sugar. But under the new system not only will the commoner be unable to satisfy his own food requirements without resort to trade, but a 90% rental would, relatively speaking, be worth its weight in gold, - with the added consequence that the commoner who tends tobacco will for the first time find himself under a direct tax obligation to the Government. There is little doubt that in such circumstances 'rents' would be enforced. In my view the general levelling up of Kachin status on Saboung commoner and Sgaw which would result from this process would be extremely fatal to the existing tribal organization.

399 In the ending with the Lashadi among the ultimate form of
423 evolution in Lashadi class. The Sgaw Kachin is increasingly
425 difficult to maintain his obligations of kinship and hospitality, he finds less land and eventually he even loses of the low the tribal land is mortgaged to pay the bride-payment for his wife, he becomes a landless serf in permanent debt with the community - the process of tribal disintegration may to all intents and purposes be regarded as complete.

299 Even the Government's point of view such a development is not
424 entirely undesirable. A completely detribalized community is in many respects easier to administer than a tribal one, at least in the short term view. But there are still other factors affecting the situation. The labour for the Kachin oil fields is largely supplied

* This is theoretically impossible, since by long definition tribal land is alot land. Nevertheless the process of alienation has in the past clearly taken place in the plains and foothill areas.

by individual Kurds from the Ottoman area. Similar industrial developments further north would provide a labour market for the Kurds of the Soviet Union. Economically the cheapest labour is that which is least organized. Here again the analogy with South African developments is very close.

Economic relations within the Village

The previous section dealt primarily with the economic relationships between the village group and the outside world, and the way in which changes in the form of this external capital may be expected to affect the basic economic organization of village life. It is now necessary to consider the same set of phenomena from the point of view of the individual rather than of the village group as a whole.

In general the relations (or exchange) within the village group are to be regarded as social rather than economic. The system of allocation by family groups rather than individuals ensures that there is no great differentiation of economic status as between different households, and trading contracts within the group are normally symmetrical.

Crafts

An exception to this is the case of the weaver who occupies a specialist position by virtue of his trade. It should be noted that carding and spinning are not specialist occupations. For the most part the work is completed and upon independently by the women of each household. The materials in this context may also vary in the manner in which the payment either in cash or kind.

Another individual sometimes occupying a specialist position is the herdsman. Both in Pelkuh and Dangalta the whole flock of goats and sheep was in charge of a single individual who apparently lived permanently in the open with his charges. It was explained to me that the herdsman was not a member of the village but a stranger, the various families contributing in kind contributing jointly to his support. Though the flocks are thus herded together there is no suggestion of "joint ownership", each man knows his own sheep. This form being easily ascertained by slitting the ears; sexing and breeding when the resemblance go not to the grading and pick out their particular property. In other villages conditions are rather different. For instance the Herdsmen of Sepan have large herds, and an elected already part of the community organization and having the appearance of being an independent tribe, which tends to the entire community. I have no

* This describes the existing conditions. It is said that Dangalta had some of the other villagers who have no number of their own. The men still mostly all wear Kurdish clothes, but the spinning and weaving is largely concentrated in Sumaniya and Erbil.

of
information as to how many individuals go with the cattle or what is their relationship with those that stay behind to get in the harvest.

There are few other specialist occupations. Dog making is a specialist accomplishment of some of the women but the particular products are of no economic importance. Other crafts are chiefly in the hands of travelling experts who wander from village to village equipped with the tools of their craft and work up the materials offered to them by their clients. One may name for instance the felt maker, the carpenter, the tinker and the builder. It must be emphasised that these people are not dealers but craftsmen. The felt maker works up the wool provided by the villagers; the villagers must provide the wood before the carpenter can make a cloth for him. The capital of such craftsmen can therefore be very small and the return for their work is little more than their keep and travelling expenses.

Traders

Quite distinct from these are the various traders who provide the contact between the village and the outside world. These are best classified by their Kurdish names - sharabwanda, attar and bazargan. The sharabwanda are primarily travelling fruit dealers, their trade is of a local nature and entirely on a barter basis. They provide contact as between one part of the tribal area and another. Thus when I was in Mirawah a dealer arrived with fruit from Amri which he traded for small quantities of wheat and tobacco.

The attar may best be described as a travelling pedlar. He deals in such items as matches, needles, cigarette papers, spices, kerosene, thread, sugar, tea and coffee - in fact he fulfils the functions of the general village store. His terms are partly barter and partly cash. He can however only deal in small quantities - as Agha such as Sheikh Mohammed would always send to Sirwan to purchase for his sugar rather than purchase it through an attar. Occasionally the attar is permanently established in a single village. A shopkeeper of this sort is known as dukandar; among the villages I visited, shops of this sort only existed in the smuggling centre of Shalan.

The bazargan maintain permanent shops in the towns such as Rowanduz and Erbil and only send travellers out to the villages. They deal only in the superior categories of goods, - cloth, cotton, tea, coffee, sugar, so that their principal clients are the Aghas. For the most part they are Jews or Armenians. They do not trade for barter but gain their trade by offering elastic terms of credit. It is worth noting that money seems to be available, a debt of £5 borrowed today is still a debt of £5 if settled in 3 years time. Presumably to allow for this, the prices are quite exorbitant. The development of this system of credit trading is, I think, quite new for this part of Kurdistan. It seems likely in the course to lead to the bankruptcy

8: Leach E-S (1938) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
Rowanduz

of either the Aghas or the traders. - It is hard to judge which is the most vulnerable. Thus, Said, son of Sheikh Mohammed of Balash, assured me that he personally was in debt to the tune of £300 and wanted me to get him a job with the oil company in Kirkuk so that he could work off his indebtedness; on the other hand in Bergala I met a rather pathetic little Rowanduz trader who complained that he had £150 out at credit, some of it for over three years, and though he had just been round to dun all his clients he had only managed to collect £3!

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Tobacco Marketing

In a previous section I emphasized the growing importance of tobacco for the economy of this part of Kurdistan. It is now necessary to consider how this tobacco crop is actually marketed. My enquiries on this subject led to somewhat contradictory results and the matter needs further investigation; in general I think the divergence of view was primarily due to the rapidly changing conditions in the tobacco trade. My notes reveal three distinct methods of marketing. The first is that now generally practiced in the sophisticated areas of Kurdistan around Sulaimani and in the lowland districts of the Erbil liwa. This method does not at present apply to the Rowanduz area but may be expected to do so as the tobacco crop is increased.

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Marketing procedure 1. The big tobacco factories of Baghdad have their own agents in Kurdistan, who contract with the Aghas for the whole saleable surplus of the village crop. If required the Agha has obtain a substantial cash advance at the time of sowing the crop. Seed and technical advice is often provided by the merchant's agents who presumably work in cooperation with the Government departments concerned. 50% of the crop is the Agha's own by virtue of his land title, the other 50% belongs to individual cultivators. Since however the buyers' agent deals only with the Agha, the latter is in a position to take a substantial commission on the cultivators' share as well. On the other hand the individual cultivator need not sell his crop through the Agha if he does not think he is getting a fair price. But his only alternative is to trade with the star, who as a middleman, can only offer a much lower price than the buyers' agent offers the Agha. The tobacco is transported from village to town at the buyers' expense in each case.

The second method was described to me as that practiced in the old days before the coming of the Baghdad cigarette factories. My informant in this case was a Sulaimani man and I am uncertain to what extent this procedure was ever relevant for the Rowanduz area.

Marketing procedure 2. Trade was on a more individual basis. The tobacco merchants or their agents, with the Agha's consent, made advance contracts with individual cultivators. These advances had the

8: Leach E-S (1938) 1940 MAIL Kurd MAIL
Rowanduz

277 442 effect of greatly reducing the ultimate return for the producer. Thus a cultivator who sold his crop for a cash advance at the time of sowing would only get about 60% of the market value of his ultimate crop. Merchants would pay substantial gifts - either in cash or kind - to the Agha for the right to trade and in return the Agha would in effect guarantee the contract. Thus if an individual cultivator failed to meet his contract the Agha could force him to sell his personal goods to meet the bond, though for reasons of kinship it seems likely that the Agha would in many cases prefer to meet the liability himself.

Marketing procedure 3. Detailed enquiries in Balnah revealed that the tobacco surplus for that village is fairly small and is disposed of either through individual tobacco dealers operating from Erbil or else through the ordinary shop; some of trade are for cash only, and there is no system of allowance. From Dargale, where the tobacco cultivation is much more extensive, I unfortunately obtained no information concerning marketing methods.

Having dealt with the various individual contacts between members of the village and those outside it, there remain for consideration those forms of exchange within the group itself which have an essentially social rather than an economic basis. Owing to lack of empirical data I can do little more than point out that are the principal occasions for these exchanges.

589 [584] Marriage. A bride price is payable by the bridegroom to the bride's father. I was told that if the wife run away or otherwise misbehaved herself the husband could claim back part of the bride price, but the information was not specific. * In the event of a divorce the husband is responsible for the maintenance of his former wife at any rate during her pregnancy and frequently longer. It is difficult to obtain reliable figures concerning the amount of bride price paid. Hay quotes the figure of £500 for a wealthy Agha. There is a natural tendency to exaggerate the figures both on flattery for the lady and to create an air of affluence about the informant. When I pointed out that in the case of the marriage of cross-cousins living as close neighbours in the same village the payment of bride price, whatever its amount, could be little more than a nominal transaction, this was admitted; nevertheless, it was argued, every girl's self

* Hay (p. 44) says the husband is responsible only for three months after divorce or during pregnancy whichever is the longer and this is good Mohammedan law. According to my interpreter important Aghas wishing to increase the number of their household will sometimes divorce one of their wives merely in order to marry a fifth; in such a case the divorced wife would remain a member of the Agha's household indefinitely, though whether her position would be that of concubine was not made clear. The situation however is hypothetical as I obtained no concrete examples.

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* Formerly it appears it was quite customary for commoners to wed their unmarried girl children to immortals. The girls were known as Parikyan. During adolescence she was a close contact of the parikyan but might be married off quite respectably when she grew up. The system appears to have much in common with the well known system of Devadasi.

of cigarette papers. The scale of entertainment naturally varies greatly with the status of the township, whether the bank of a main or the sandy soak the most serious than the death of a Pharaoh. So far as I am aware the ecclesiastic establishments do register to the case of common fractious though on a smaller scale.*

The Police

The Police has its part to play in the ritual both at ceremonies of marriage and burial, and plays some appropriate rôle. Its interest in the marriage ritual is on the decline. Consequent registration and enquiry that marriages must be registered with the police, and the marriage be legal without any religious ceremony. The tendency to questions to give precedence to the police rather than the Police.

* The above remarks do not apply at all to coast natives, I was told that among the Darkinjung the whole ceremonial is concluded in one day. The procedure was said to contain much ritual of non-Native type.

R: Leach E-R (1958) 1960 WRII Gard WRII
Rowandiz

CHAPTER 4

The Relevance of Technology to a Social Study

The earlier type of ethnographic monograph which sought only to record an historical fact in the manners and customs of peculiar peoples was painstakingly elaborate in the description of technological detail. In contrast to this way of the latest anthropological works with their deliberately sociological emphasis have ignored technological detail altogether. In a science that seeks to establish general laws for human behaviour it is desirable in the first place to emphasize the similarities rather than the peculiarities of different cultures, and from this point of view the demonstration of general sociological and economic principles is of greater importance than the various elaborations of the local variants of a particular technique. Nevertheless the techniques of a people are not merely of historical significance. They too have a functioning dependent upon their immediate function.

Social anthropologists hardly admit the existence of any inter-relationship between the social forms of a culture and the visible material aspects, but the nature of this relationship is rather questionably assumed. The interest tends to be so exclusively on the abstract concept of social structure, that the consciousness of a formal material structure is sometimes forgotten. But the social form and the material form are merely equally significant aspects of human adjustment to the given facts of climate and environment. The tendency in the past has been to see material facts merely as a right stage upon which to demonstrate the interlocking unity of social forms. For my part I have purposely left all material descriptions to the last since by so doing it is more easy to demonstrate the close correlations that exists between the social and the material forms, and to show that variations in the one implies constants and interdependent variations in the other. The recognition of this correlation is especially important where the attention is one of culture change. It is for me the anthropologist's one because use of predicting the trend and development of change, the method must be to detect and evaluate the forces of conservatism and resistance in different aspects of the culture as he sees it. It is part of my argument that any such evaluation based on a consideration of social trends alone is necessarily distorted. In some sense it is true, social forces seem to constitute an of permanent importance, but as others it is technical factors which provide the ultimate determining factor as to which direction a new social development will take. Conservatism in the final analysis is a highly complex amalgam of social obligations, psychological reluctance, and actual technical inability to effect change. A direct correlation between the social and the material aspects of a Kurdish hill village should therefore be of interest.

of
Land Ownership, Rural Construction and Stability

The indications are that land ownership are for the most part on fairly efficient an present technical equipment permits the owner of cultivated land that could be brought into cultivation easily by an increase in economic inducement to work. Except on the central swampy where Native chiefs, subchiefs are the owners, chief by withdrawal deprives the land to sufficiently large to work a plough, and there another possible subsidiary arrangements such as those are carried for by sale the steep hill face. Where there is clear evidence that the land supplies goods are only barely adequate for the needs of the community it may be postulated that the existing population approximates to the maximum that can be supported by the present economic system.

Land security appear among the most plausible explanation for the very curious form of architecture adopted in this region. The villages are always constructed on a steep hill which could have no possible agricultural utility. They are not constructed on the top of the hill as defence considerations might seem to suggest but on the side of it imediately above the level plough land at the bottom of the valley. Sometimes on all sides and at first the houses are clustered together in an almost solid block, sometimes they are grouped into a number of individual clusters, the relations of these visible structures seeming to bear some correlation with the degree of stability enjoy within the village as can be seen from paragraph 5. The house is a particular shape the roof of one house forms the front part of the one below. The house which shown in the photograph was occupied by two brothers and their families. These occupied the two top buildings. The bottom building though also originally a dwelling house was at the time of my visit being used as a store house for both families. All this is an experimental case, a single block of buildings such as this is usually found to be occupied by a group of near relations functioning for the most part as a joint economic group. In view of the obvious inconveniences of such close proximity it would hardly be necessary. If however economic developments of the future tend to accentuate the rights of the individual as opposed to those of the kinship group we may expect the supplementary development of a more individualistic style of architecture. On the other hand the existing type of joint dwelling house is a factor which emphasizes any effort on the part of the ego to recognize the rights of land owners and settlements on lines of greater efficiency.

In my remark perhaps that in the plains where the chief agricultural emphasis is upon short production and where the limitations of water supply naturally affect the whole economic organization of the community, not only the arrangement of the villages but the actual technological construction of the houses is totally different from that of the hill districts. Each factors applies only to the villages of the

[illegible] area, and approximately also to areas B of Map 1. In these areas 361
apply as well to areas A. 362

The archaeological qualifications of the buildings may be summarized as follows:

The shape is rectangular but there is an occasional tendency to wide or 363
plan. As a rule the walls have rounded out bends and only the
roof of the house immediately below has this peculiar feature. The
walls are usually of rough cut stone set in a mud plaster about two feet
thick, but the exterior facework is sometimes smoothed and built for
the stone and plaster. Some houses are two stories high but this is
rather unusual in Wall since the upper story is reserved by an extreme
lights. All rooms have windows to the outside wall but, except in the
right's bedroom, these are very rarely any shutters. The floor is set in
a small floor pit; there is sometimes a ground water near to the roof
but were usually the only escape for water is through the window. The
roof is flat, sloping towards slightly towards the front; the walls
roof beams are horizontal, parallel to the wall surfaces, which are
them to hold a thick layer of this brushes about the thickness of pa
sticks. This is given a top dressing covered [illegible] kind of a
stony soil from lime, ashes and rubble. In any weather this gra
hard and provides a perfectly right floor, but it is not a true cement
floor mats, it quickly goes soft and must be kept constantly rolled if 365
leaks are to be avoided. The furnishings of a Kurdish house are 48
extremely simple. A variety of cooking utensils are the chief item
there is seldom a chair or a table. Bedding consists of felt quilts,
pillows & rug or two, and blankets. During the daytime these are 366
rolled up in a corner and pushed out of the way. It may be mentioned
that the best valuable parts of the house are the roof beams.
Straight trunks of timber of adequate length are hard to obtain, and
only after an effort spanning nearly generations. If the log rotten
a peasant decides to build a new house, he dismantles the roof of the
old one and uses the materials for his new house. A village who feel
the true sentiment that exists almost impossible to remove wood.
The destruction of this type of undertaken are usually defined by the
difficulty of transport. This is demonstrated in the houses of the
wealthier Agha and Beglike where by adding refinements such as wooden
floors, glass windows and hinged doors personality undoubtedly becomes
one to expend from a design essentially similar to that of the
ordinary peasant's house. With any [illegible] to of the general
economic status of the community another modification of the peasant
construction may also be expected. Building in common & operation 371
crafts as expert is usually called in from the town, the other 443
supplying the materials. The employment of town experts is probably 372
connected with the adoption of different variant of stone and plaster
which above.

8: Leech 8-5 (1938) 1940 WAII Rural WAII
Rwanda:

Ploughing

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967

The technical equipment available for land cultivation is extremely rudimentary. The principal implement the plough (see photographs) is of the simplest possible type, though small details of design vary from village to village. The complete disregard seen from the Egypt districts. The great advantage from the cultivator's point of view is its extreme lightness; it can be dismantled easily to a few separate and carried about by one man. This is of great importance where it is necessary to reach some of the plots to be cultivated it may be necessary to fetch a stream or climb half way up a mountain. This despite the ending of communications it is doubtful whether any more modern implement would fulfil the special requirements of the environment equally well. In the plains things are different. There is the big short where capital expenditure on large scale mechanical equipment would be well worth while; but in the hills the individual plots of cultivation are so small and the contours so steep that a good portable implement is essential.

The disadvantage of the existing hill country plough is its operating clumsiness. The chief reason for this is that instrument makes a straight furrow and has no curved plough share to help the soil over on to the furrows instrument. Each furrow in that type that will be side on part of an instrument which turns the soil over. But such again any immediate modification is difficult. It was the European instrument efficiently the land must be divided up into long rectangular strips so that the ploughmen can go up one side and down the other. With a primitive straight furrow plough, such as the British, the ploughmen returns on his own track so that it does not much matter how short or much subdivided furrow. The typical smallholdings resulting from the use of these different instruments are that of different shape - with the European plough the typical smallholder's cultivation plot becomes an in Ankole or Norway a long narrow strips with the primitive instrument the typical plot is nearly square. Even if the existing Ankole plough were to be improved so as to carry a curved share, it probably would not usefully be employed without a considerable reconstruction of existing land holdings. Even though educated Ankole, when lamenting the backwardness of their people, tend to deplore most of all the primitive inefficiency of their equipment, it seems to me most

* It is of interest to note that the manufacturers of harvesting machinery seem to be unaware of the existence of Iraq. I discussed the matter with the landlord agent of Hawlera, a village some twenty miles west of Erbil. He was a man who with extensive views. He said that he was quite prepared to invest several thousand pounds in ploughs and harvesting machinery but that so far as he could discover there was only one firm of machinery makers with agents in England and they wanted an open order.

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entirely that there will be any serious modification of the existing type of plough, or any move in the hill country.

Threshing

For threshing the hill people use an instrument on ally the cereals are merely raised and rested on the piled straw until the ears is removed to a free shaff and the straw then exposed with a fork to a light wind (see photographs). The process of threshing takes an immense time, often lasting from July to late October; any drastic change in the economic programme of the village - such as a switch over from rice to tobacco - must as I have shown be dependent on the extent to which this process of threshing can be speeded up.

A circumstance that I find very puzzling is that throughout the plains area, - where the wheat harvest is very large - use is made of a relatively advanced "threshing machine". This consists of a large cross shaft (see photograph) to the underside of which is attached a rotating set of metal blades for shaving up the shaff. The apparatus is very simple and not, one would have thought, unduly expensive. But the curious fact remains that this device is not found in the hill country except sporadic at all, though the advantages seem to well known to all.

The only explanation I could get was that in the hill country the wheat production was not great enough to make the more efficient method worth while; the argument seemed to be that as long as the threshing got finished before the rains came in November it was good enough. However the real reason it seems likely that there must be some modification of existing threshing methods if there is ever any natural extension of the tobacco cultivation.

Land Utilization.

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The actual layout of the cultivation is primarily determined by the topography of each individual village. Wheat, tobacco, fruit and vegetable cultivations are permanently fixed, their position being determined by the layout of the irrigation system. The wheat on the plain land is worked on a two year cycle as noted already. The diagram opposite roughly the layout of cultivation in Palank at the time of my visit. It will be noted that all the fallow land is on one side of the stream and all the [illegible] wheat only on the other. Nothing corresponding to this even remotely could be observed in the other villages I visited. In explanation the Kurd informed that the holdings of individual cultivators are not necessarily all in one place - in Palank obviously each working group must have approximately an equal area of land on either side of the stream. I thought at first that there might be some system of rotating land to different individuals cultivators in successive years but on inquiries

[See graph 75 - Analyst]

8: Leach E-S (1938) 1940 MAII Kuru MAII
Kawanbari

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[illegible] My information however on the actual topographical arrangement of individual holdings is definitely unsatisfactory. From the evidence it would appear that each working group of cultivators must hold its separate plots at least the following: one patch of vegetable garden, one patch of tobacco cultivation, one patch of wheat and one patch of Indian. But my informants never formulated the position to me in this manner. The problem is linked up with the question of inheritance concerning which my [illegible] evidence is very slight. As I have shown, it appears that as far as land is concerned the cultivators of the Kuru have normally only a residual interest. Several lineages that the Ashe or landlord has a residual right to determine absolutely the inheritance of land lapses among his tenants, it is still far from clear how this works out in practice.

Rice

The rice cultivation seems usually to be the personal property of the Ashe - this being true at Lower Kuru Mutsen, Ngaut and Jangalan. I did not discover what particular individuals are responsible for this cultivation or how they are recompensed. It is extremely hard to understand why in a village such as Mutsen this cultivation is not turned over to tributes. Should [illegible] probably conditioned by the fact that one of the reasons he was so badly off compared with the enemy the Ashe of Jangalan was that the latter owing to better water supplies was able to grow as much rice himself. Primitive political economy for this conservative here has suggested to a previous writings whether reasons is psychological - from the Kachin point of view it just is not worth to go short of food and rely on the proceeds of a cash crop to make up deficiencies. In this context the Ashe does resemble Solomon Islanders.

The Mill

In Lakhimpur which I have so far neglected but which is of more than merely topographical significance is the mill. There is a mill associated with nearly all the larger villages. There are mills at Jangalan, Ngaut and Kaga. Mutsen has none but there is one at Kaunghka. All are worked on the same principle which technologically speaking is very efficient. As may be seen from the diagram and photographs the machine is worked on a horizontal machine and thus need the "velocity" head of the water instead of the weight as in the more usual types of water wheel. This has various technical advantages - for instance it dispenses of the necessity for any gearing - and if the operation were "precision work" there is no reason why it should not be highly efficient. Actually the coating of the millstones which is necessary to work the machine at any great speed and the ability to control to about 1 mm of flour in 24 hours, working continuously. The operation of the machine is quite automatic and once started it requires only the minimum of attention.

B: Leach E-S (1938) 1940 MAII Kurd MAII
Rowanduz

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Dr2
S78

[illegible] the driving water is obtained by diverting some [illegible] This is done at Sangaldan, Sgirt and Banja and the operation of the mill then has an effect upon the irrigation system of the village. In Sangaldan however water supplies are less adequate. If the stream is diverted through the irrigation channels there is insufficient to drive the mill. A compromise has therefore been reached. The water is passed through the mill-stream on Monday etc leave per day and to the mill for the remaining eighteen. This division arises on this account and while I was in Sangaldan a young man got a good thrashing from the miller for setting the gate during the night so as to get an extra supply of water for his tobacco seedlings. Here again then is an obstacle that might prove confusing to any hereby thought out scheme of agricultural reform.

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The owner of the mill is probably in most cases a part [illegible] of the mill. In Sangaldan it is the mill himself, in Sangaldan a father-in-law of the miller. The terms are to effect that the owner of the stone hires the mill at a fixed charge for each week of each period. The man who runs the stone himself operates the machinery. There is no suggestion of selling the corn to the miller. The miller usually obtains a contract for the use of his apparatus. In this he is in competition with agriculturists operating in the town, the latter being of course well situated and producing a smoother and cleaner flour. In general however the tendency [illegible] to carrying the wheat to Rowanduz and bringing the flour back again to millstones to ensure that the business remains with the local mill provided the price charged is not too high. In weighing furnishers on may note that the mill owner likely to receive a permanent instruction.

Sawing

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Dr2

The only other piece of mechanical equipment I intend to discuss in this study is the circle saw. The design of the apparatus is identical to the Kingdom. It is exactly identical to the saw used elsewhere in Iraq, with the difference that instead of the "tractor [illegible]" suspended from a right rectangular framework instead of [illegible] hung from the roof as in the Kurdish example. This improvement permits the widening of the gate. Thus while the Kurdish saw has a maximum range of about [illegible] an apparatus which I saw in Baghdad could carry a very nearly three times as wide. Kurdish engineers do not apparently ever attempt complicated patterns, they always use a plain gears. Shrigan are sometimes introduced by means of mitered threads on the ends. Sections of circle produced differ mainly in the thickness and density of the [illegible]. The fine specimens in my possession, the coarse brass circle, normally used for the sawdings of [illegible], has forty [illegible] Kurdish

The rag [illegible] is quite a different piece of apparatus to be not mentioned here since the social relationship seem insignificant.

8: Leech 8-5 (1938) 1940 WAll Rural WAll
Rowandum

[redacted]

CHAPTER 5

Warfare

Taken present conditions large scale warlike activities on the part of the tribes are a complete impossibility, but that does not justify us in discussing the topic of warfare altogether as being of no relevance to the present social situation. Historically speaking the traditional forms of Kachin social organization are associated with an ideology of raids and counter raids, war, pillage and feud. Certain writers have undoubtedly greatly exaggerated the extent to which the average Kachin in former times did in fact devote himself to raiding, robbery and loot, but to Kachinsthis preoccupation does seem, often still, very accurately to describe the way majorities. The Kachin ideal of manly behaviour does correspond very closely with the typical English concept of a "brigand". His daily tasks are good to the extent that they contribute bodily love on. And this has reference to the existing situation. The fight (ideas to think of himself as a military leader rather than as a landlord; he habitually chooses his own neighbours into "friends" and "enemies". The consequences of this attitude are highly serious and remain to be examined here, but at least the divergent trends can be noted. On the one hand the sharp antagonism between neighbouring groups is very today a force of social cohesion; the members of the clan or the tribe are aware of their unity largely in terms of their common enmity to some other group. On the other hand increasing economic contacts and the constant bureaucratic efforts of the Police and the administration, in so far as they are successful in lessening intergroup suspicion, do act the same time to lessen the social cohesion of the groups concerned.

Police organized raiding or warfare is now impossible the primary fact conditions and may be examined further.

The Feud

The social of the Giant feud may be summarized by the phrase that "a man's enemy must be avenged by his kinsfolk and his descendants", and we may note at once that a system of small politically independent groups is particularly suited to perpetuate antagonisms of this kind. The individuals upon whom we view the near neighbours, and since his kinsfolk are probably identified with him who he is bound by an item of loyalty to any group outside his own village. Within the village all are bound together to secure the aggression, hatred is everyone to a potential enemy, the identity of interest between the family and the village is complete.

Quarrels between villagers may arise from a variety of causes, chiefly economic. Rules and grazing rights are always ill-defined and may lead to serious disputes in times of scarcity, and then may

576 [illegible]
624 [illegible]
634 [illegible]
641 [illegible]

628 [illegible]

634 [illegible]
634 [illegible]
178 [illegible]

B: Leach E-S (1938) 1940 WWII Hard WWII
Kawandisi

Survey

[illegible] 27

[illegible] 577
[illegible] 537
[illegible] 647

[illegible] 0000

[illegible]

9: Leach E-S (1954) 1940 WWII Rural WWII
Rowandiza

[illegible]

771 773 All that I can do therefore is to describe in superficial terms the social position of the Hills in the Kachins as village priests, and give some description of the scope on the visible evidence of the religious life of the community. I cannot make any attempt to examine beliefs or ritual practices in detail.

The Hills

773 Most of the larger villages have a resident Hills. The functions and social position of this individual are by no means easy to define. His accomplishments are a supposed ability to read and write the sacred language and an encyclopaedic knowledge of the Sutras. This sacred equipment is acquired during a long period of training as a student, during which time he is permitted upon the village to which he is sent, begging his keep and assisting all services except laymen. Most Hills have one or two such pupils, some may have a dozen or more. They are not usually members of the local kinship group, but individuals who through some social entanglement have left their own group and are thus without normal means of support. The student must I believe undergo a certain standard before he 'graduates' as a Hills, but how this is defined is not clear, it certainly cannot be very high. The intellectual attainments of the Hills vary very greatly. Some have a real understanding of books and Pentaps and of the various dimensions of their own language, others merely learn the Sutras by rote and recite portions of it as ritualistic exercises without any clear understanding of the meanings. Knowledge of the Sutras does not even necessarily imply an ability to read - the Hills student can learn the whole text but can [illegible] practically everything the whole book. In general however the Hills may be regarded as the most sophisticated member of the community. Some of the villagers commonly use 10 months each of the lights would claim the distinction but I doubt their real ability - all lights of Ngaut the narrators called to the Hills both to read and write the letters, and Kawlt Hkam of Sangpin though he could certainly read was commonly [illegible] Kiwan. In earlier times one of the Hills's hereditary functions [illegible] to be write out general statements to the lights; predictions in this respect are changing rapidly owing to the fact that most lights know are not quite well educated. Apart from such personal services to the lights the Hills's services to the community are chiefly those of village priest. He leads the prayers by the people, and at the Nshang [illegible] supplements this with a brief address to Gumra, which is extremely [illegible] to the audience. He officiates at weddings and funerals and receives suitable rewards from the Sutra. It was learned further that he is frequently called in to cure sickness - usually by means of prayers and charms and incantations. I have no information at all as to the magical procedure involved, but the wide distribution of amulets and Kumsin charms, especially among the women and the smaller children suggests that there is a field here for investigation.

In return for these services he receives from the Hills a

R: Leach E-S (1939) 1940 Hill Rural Hill
Researcher

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

B: Leach 8-5 (1938) 1940 WWII Guard WWII
Newsletter

[illegible]

Chapter 4

The Institution of the Foregoing Research

The reader may have noted a curious reticence on the subject of military affairs in regard to [illegible]. In reality every one of the authority granted to attend to [illegible] in any responsibility to general duties, - of all my instruments but two, - the most powerful portions of the medical organization were [illegible].

The reasons for limiting my research to [illegible] were [illegible]. I was the first [illegible] that such power to [illegible] the military subject were those of military personnel, and since it was assumed that I was responsible to a special agent of the [illegible] military power I was naturally the object of considerable [illegible] and suspicion. The high policy that caused Britain to [illegible] Iraq as an independent state in preparation to the British withdrawal, and it is assumed that Britain, to maintain an important line of communication between the English and the Arabs, [illegible] though I succeeded with an official pass from the Ministry of the Interior, it was generally assumed that my real [illegible] was [illegible] although the Government's [illegible] authority concerning the [illegible] between [illegible] were suspected as a cloak with which to [illegible] military matters. This put me [illegible] to be assumed guilty. The [illegible] of [illegible] compelled them to treat me as an [illegible] guest, and if my [illegible] to the Government [illegible] that the Government [illegible] were entirely [illegible] they could be well assured to [illegible] with me. [illegible] On the other hand if I was really an agent of the [illegible], any [illegible] with me would surely lead to a [illegible] [illegible] on the basis of the [illegible] as soon as I had left. And there was further complication - [illegible] [illegible] of [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible]

The Problem Considered

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

B: Leach E-S (1958) 1940 MAII Kurd MAII
Rowanduz

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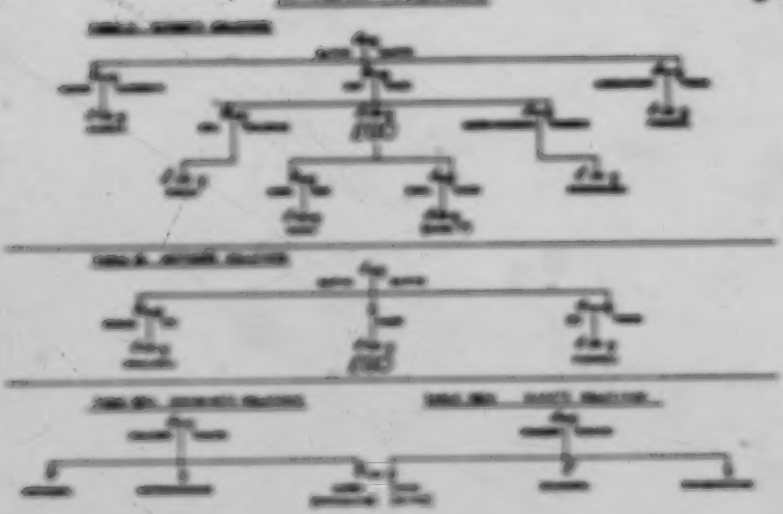

8: Leach E-5 (1938) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
Rowanduz

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APPENDIX.

601 Note on Table of Kinship Terms

General. The Kurdish language spoken in the Rowanduz area has much in common with old Persian, but contains far fewer Arabic importations than does modern Persian. In both languages the kinship terms show a blending of Indo-European and Semitic roots but there is no close correspondence.

	Inner-Kurdish	Persian	Arabic
Grandfather	bapir	jadd	jidd
Father	bap	pidar	ab
Mother	dayk	madar	umm
Uncle (paternal)	emo	'amu	'amm
" (maternal)	khalo	khal	khal
Brother	bra	biradar	akh
Sister	khushk	khahar	ukht
Son	kury	pisar	ibn
Daughter	kich	dukhtar	bint

It may be significant however that in both Kurdish and Persian Semitic words are used to describe the two types of Uncle.

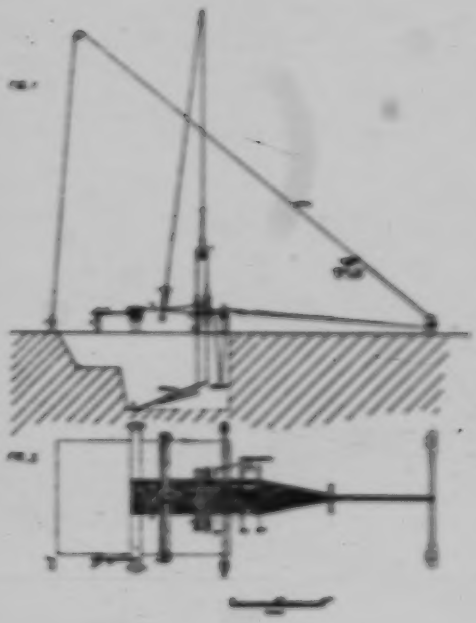
Table 1. As explained elsewhere in the text, the term emam (father's brother's child) appears to be used in a classificatory sense to include all members of Ego's tire. The colloquial use of the English word 'cousin' is closely analogous to this. It is not clear whether terms such as mamikhushk (literally 'husband of sister') are merely descriptive in the sense of 'my sister's husband', or whether they are actual terms of colloquial reference such as 'brother in law'.
Bik - 'daughter in law' - literally means 'bride'
Emo - 'son in law' - " " 'bridegroom'
Kuro - 'grandchild' - seems to have an extended meaning in the sense of 'descendants'.

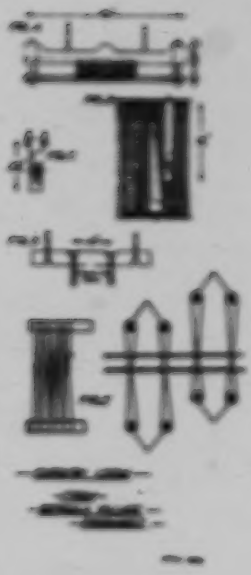
Table 2. Note that in a system of cross-cousin marriage, 'mother's brother' may frequently be married to 'father's sister', so that the 'khalmo' may also be members of Ego's own tire.

Table 3. Xhin - 'wife' - and mamê - 'husband' - mean literally simply 'woman' and 'man' respectively.

(515) It is not clear how any of these tables are affected in a situation of Polygyny. Thus Jalal Beg, eighth son of the Mir of Rowanduz told me that he had only one brother - i.e. by his own mother. He said he addressed his step-mothers as dayk, but if he wanted to be more specific would add a name; thus dayk Fatin - 'mother Fatima'. I do not know whether any distinction is made between uncles who are full brothers of Ego's father and those who are only half brothers.

8: Leach E-5 (1938) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
Rowanduz





B: Leach E-5 (1938) 1940 MAII Hand MAII
Rowanhill

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The Scottish Loom

qw2
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The Scottish loom illustrated on the opposite page has not, so far as I can discover, been described in detail before. *Ling Roth mentions the Kinds Pit Treadle loom as a variation of the Scarborough Hand Treadle loom but does not describe it. The Scottish Pit Treadle loom, here shown, is similar to that used in Central Pennsylvania except that the latter has the slay slung from a right rectangular framework thus allowing of a wider warp.

Taken in conjunction with the photographs (unfortunately blurred owing to overexposure) the diagram opposite should be more or less self explanatory.

The weaver sits in a pit beneath the loom. He operates the heddle mechanism with his feet by means of a treadle and works the shuttle and slay with his hands.

Fig. 1 is a section through the loom and Fig. 2 is the corresponding plan. Portions of the apparatus marked A.B.C.D.E. in small letters are shown in larger scale in the subsidiary figures to the right of the diagram. The scales for figures A.B.C.D. are as indicated; Fig.E is diagrammatic only.

Fig.A shows the slay (reed, beater &c). As can be seen it can be readily taken to pieces. The comb of the reed is not rigidly attached to the batten frame but rises freely in grooved slots indicated by the dotted lines. This prevents the warp being "dragged" on one side if the weaver fails to pull the slay quite straight.

The weft (weft) on the finished cloth immediately behind the reed is kept taut by the device shown in Fig.B. I am unaware of the English technical term for this device. It can be seen in position in one of the photographs. It consists of two pieces of wood, each with a steel needle at one end, joined together with string at the other. By adjusting the length of the string the two pieces can be made to form a rigid bar of variable length. The diagram shows the pieces in position on the cloth before looking one inside the other.

Fig.C shows one of the two pulley blocks supporting the heddle rocker.

Fig.D shows one of the bars from which the pedal straps are suspended; it appears in cross section in figure 1 at the point D.

Fig.E shows (diagrammatically) the way the warp threads are threaded through the loops of the heddle. Note from figure 1 that both heddle and counter-heddle are double, the odd threads passing through both sets of loops on one side of the weaver and the even threads through those of the other. I did not obtain precise details of how the loash strings are knotted and looped.

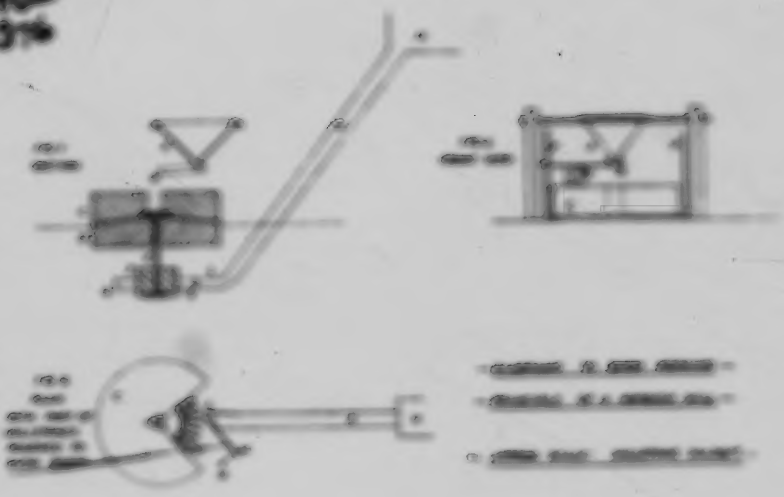
*E. Ling Roth - Studies in Primitive Looms

The finished work is called on the square sectioned tenon [illegible]. This is held in position by the nut B which fits into one of four holes in the sides of J and is locked under the flank groove peg D. To adjust the work the nuts in front at F, and B and J can then be adjusted as well. It should be noted that for convenience A.S.A. have been shown in Fig.1 as well as in Fig.2 though they are positioned on the reverse right hand side as indicated in the plan.

There are three spreaders [illegible], the front one of which is in front of the saddle base E. This bolt is held down by the weight shown in Figure 1; this prevents the spreader slipping forward into the saddle mechanism and prevents the work "bouncing" on E. Without this device the rear spreaders would require constant adjustment.

The saddle base E is slightly grooved on the top face so as to keep the threads in place; it serves the same function as the spreaders - that of keeping the work threads taut and spread out. The centerpiece is secured in projective lens designs.

[illegible]



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The Scottish Hand Mill - Mill Housing, Various Type

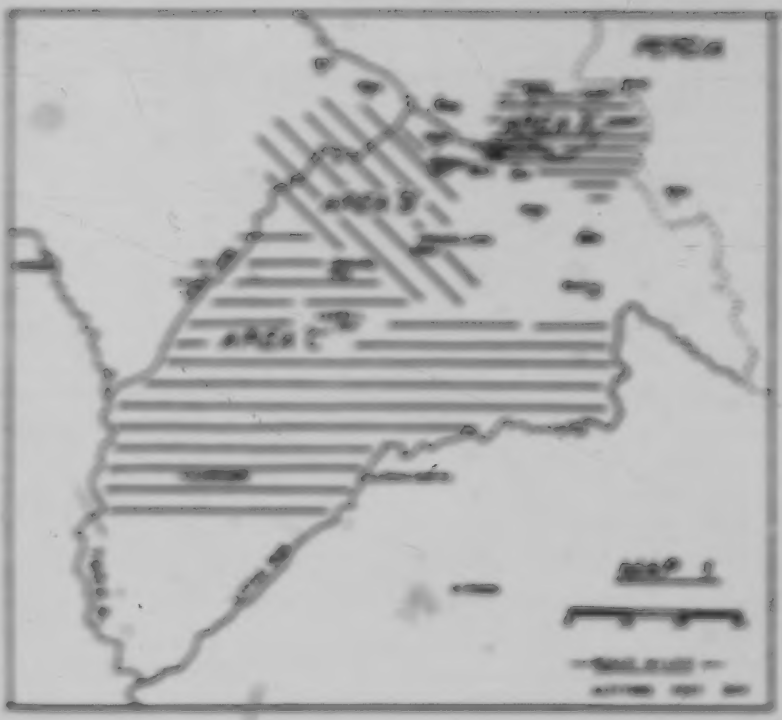
Fig 19

The diagrams appended should be read in conjunction with the photographs on the web. The type of mill illustrated is found all over the Hebridean area (Map 1). Some of the surrounding type a wide distribution, it is not found however in the places illustrated where an entirely different type of water wheel is in use. I have on the failure to obtain a description of any similar mill elsewhere.

The operation of the mill is very simple though I know of no other example of primitive mechanism employing this various principle.

Water is supplied from a channel A and falls from a steep chute on [illegible] fig 1. This is sometimes tightly enclosed but more usually takes the form of a deep wicker channel. The total head of water available by this means is about 20 feet. At the bottom of the last pipe the water passes through a horizontal jet L, the aperture of which can be adjusted by a wedge-shaped piece from the front of the mill-house. From the jet the water plays onto a tangential series of wooden vanes C set in a heavy stone base B. These vanes are set slightly on the skew and have a portion of the upper face cut away to provide a rim. The exact of the vane can be judged from photograph No.20 where a spare vane block can be seen on the left of the picture. There is no bottom bearing and the whole rotor mechanism hangs freely from above supported only by the steel shafting S. This latter passes through a hole in the lower millstone D, which is fixed rigid to the surrounding masonry and is secured into the upper revolving millstone C. I did not see the operation demonstrated so I am uncertain as to the precise method of keying the shafting into the rotor stones F and G or of the form of the bearing where the upper end of the shafting rides on the fixed stone D. The vane block undoubtedly in best replacement from the photograph. The vane passes into the bin L, into the bridget E. The bridget is attached to the hopper G which is jogged by the rotation of the millstone. This causes the feed H to vibrate and thus the corn passes into the central hole of the millstone. The rate of feed is adjusted by varying the incline of the feed H. The screws F is provided with the bolt and nuts of the millstone so as to prevent the flour flying out in all directions.

The following additional explanation refers to the diagrams only. In Fig.1 the structure supporting the vane box and the stones F and G the mechanism for working and tightening the feed H are omitted. It should be understood that the lower stone F is set right in the ground, while the rotor mechanism M hangs freely in a rectangular space underground. In Fig.2 the rotor and jet setting is exaggerated, and the true setting of the rotor blades ignored. The jet L is actually slightly above the rotor blades and the direction of the water flow slightly downwards. The blades are then struck in the centre at an incline of about 35 degrees rather than at the axis horizontally as the diagram would seem to indicate. In actual operation the machine runs remarkably smoothly at slow speeds, but we might be expected a violent vibration because if any attempt to make to drive the opposite way.



G: Length 0-5 (1838) 1940 WWII Guard WWII
Recommdnt

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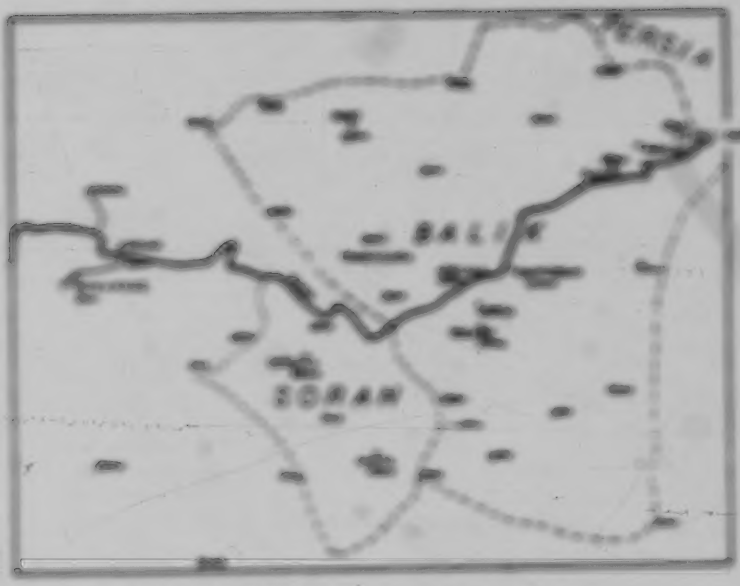

—MAP 2.—

LAND UTILISATION

WALKISH VILLAGE SURVEY 1936

List of Photographs

1. Knights. Young Scottish sights - a sculpture of all types of figure.
2. " Small early sights of Inscriptions, two other Scribes, and a standing Deities.
3. Sandstone. Sculpted human representations, Knights.
4. " All sights "Black Tower" at Sights. The open sections at the west end is the "Great Tower".
5. Rock. Rock containing shells, an occurrence normally reported only on sandy shore.
6. " A standing human face rock. The front resembles of this human type; rock strata, human profiles, ghosts, rock, an animal, warrior (helmeted arms shown). Note rock shown form has suggested halfway existing human to rock. Note also the head of long angled beside the triangle to the background.
7. Triangle - Sacred Pillings.
8. Triangle - symbol. Note the singularity with which the opposition can be distinguished.
9. Symbolizing - Bell, ceremony engines, Related Pillings.
10. " - Phallus engine. [See comments on text].
11. Triangulating - Sacred Pillings.
12. The triangulating comparator before a triangulating Rock.
13. Lamp - [For comparisons with Kingsmen]
14. " (" " " ")
15. Sacrificial Horse Bell - [For comparisons with Kingsmen, especially Fig.4].
16. " " " - Sacred Stations.

Plate 1
Panels: Young Basotho fights a regiment of Nazi fights
of Panels

Plate 2
Panels: Injured Basotho fights of Nazi-soldiers, his other
Basotho, and a running Panda

[Opposite page 74 - C]

[Opposite p 74 - D]

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Plate 11
Wintering Yaus Ridge

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Plate 12
The [illegible] on [illegible]

[opposite page 78 - F]

Plate 13
Learn. (For comparison with engine.)

Plate 14
Learn. (For comparison with engine.)

[Opposite page 11 - ii]

[illegible]